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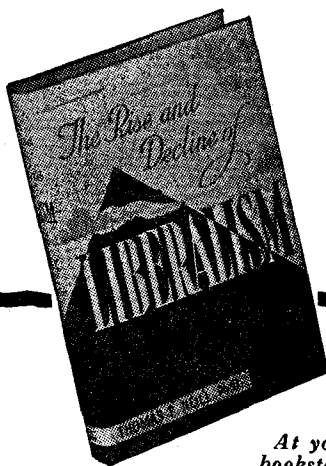
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The Stimson Doctrine and the Hoover Doctrine

RICHARD N. CURRENT

IN response to Japanese activities in the Far East, 1931–1933, the Hoover administration adopted a policy of refusing to recognize political or territorial changes made in violation of American treaty rights. This was not entirely new. At the time of Japan's Twenty-One Demands upon China, in 1915, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had announced a similar nonrecognition policy. But the Hoover administration elaborated the formula by associating it with the Kellogg-Briand or Paris Pact of 1928, whose signatories (including Japan) renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and with the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, which bound the nine powers (including Japan) to respect the Open Door in China and Chinese territorial and administrative integrity. Nonrecognition—as a corollary of these treaties—came to be known variously as the Stimson, the Hoover-Stimson, or the Hoover doctrine. The interchangeable use of these terms gave the impression that President Hoover and his Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, had one and the same policy in mind. In his book *The Far Eastern Crisis* (1936) Stimson did not disabuse his readers of that impression, but afterward some of the published papers of Hoover suggested and the memoirs of both men

revealed serious disagreements between them about the authorship and implications of the doctrine.¹ Now, with access to the unpublished diaries of Stimson and of William R. Castle, Hoover's Undersecretary of State, a more circumstantial account of policy making with respect to nonrecognition can be presented.²

During the first two or three weeks of the Manchurian crisis, which began with a Japanese attack upon Mukden, September 18, 1931, the policy makers in Washington saw eye to eye. Neither President Hoover nor Secretary Stimson then believed that American treaty rights would be involved. Both men felt a kind of godfatherly concern for the Kellogg Pact, they having sponsored the Washington ceremony at which it was finally proclaimed, and in 1929 Stimson had invoked the pact when Russian and Chinese troops clashed in Manchuria. In 1931, however, the Japanese army appeared at first to be proceeding without authorization from Tokyo, and so it seemed that the Japanese government could hardly be accused of violating its antiwar pledge. Day after day Stimson kept looking for signs that the Japanese were retreating to their own railroad zone, were "crawling back into their dens," and he listened eagerly to the assurances and reassurances of Ambassador Katsuji Debuchi.³

Meanwhile the Chinese government and the League of Nations were making futile attempts to enlist the United States in some kind of joint action. China appealed to this country as sponsor of the Kellogg Pact and to the League under Article XI of the Covenant, and the League in turn queried the State Department about the applicability of the pact. After authorizing an appeal to China and Japan to preserve peace, the League Council forwarded copies of its proceedings to Washington and then began to discuss a proposal for creating a neutral commission, including an American representative, to deal with the Manchurian affair.⁴ None of these overtures elicited a favorable response from the American Secretary of State. He suspected that the League

¹ Henry L. Stimson, *The Far Eastern Crisis: Recollections and Observations* (New York, 1936), pp. 6-7 and *passim*; Ray L. Wilbur and Arthur M. Hyde, *The Hoover Policies* (New York, 1937), pp. 600-601; William S. Myers, *The Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover, 1929-1933* (New York, 1940), pp. 157-73, 229n.; Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York, 1948), pp. 220-81; *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, II: The Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933* (New York, 1952), pp. 362-79.

² The author is indebted to Mr. McGeorge Bundy for permission to use the Stimson diary, which is available (to 1933) on microfilm in the Yale University Library, and to Mr. William R. Castle for permission to use his diary, which is in his possession in Washington, D.C.

³ Stimson diary, Sept. 19, 21, 22, 23, 28, 1931.

⁴ Sara R. Smith, *The Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1932: A Tragedy in International Relations* (New York, 1948), pp. 28-50.

was "trying to pass the buck to us," and he resented the way the League kept "nagging" him.

Stimson's own thinking at this stage centered upon two points. For one thing, he wished to avoid antagonizing Japan against the United States. For another, he feared that positive action by any outside agency might strengthen the military element in Japan, weaken the relatively moderate Wakatsuki-Shidehara ministry, and make it impossible for the latter to recover and maintain control over the rampageous army. Accordingly he thus formulated his basic aim: "My problem is to let the Japanese know we are watching them and at the same time to do it in a way that will help Shidehara, who is on the right side, and not play into the hands of any Nationalist agitators on the other." In keeping with this object he cautioned Ambassador Debuchi that, although he was "making every effort to save Japan's face and give them time to settle this by themselves with China," the Japanese must realize that he "thought the situation was very grave" and "they must settle it mighty quick."⁵ To the American minister in Geneva, Hugh Wilson, he laid down three successive lines of action for the United States in relation to the League: First, while opposing the plan for a neutral commission, we should support the League in urging "that Japan and China themselves effect a settlement through direct negotiation." Second, if "outside action" should become necessary, we should "favor China and Japan's submitting to machinery set up in the League of Nations Covenant." Third, "should it develop for any reason that this line is impracticable," we should "consider the machinery of" the 1922 Nine-Power Treaty "or action such as may be practicable under the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact."⁶

This program Stimson himself authored, but he did so with the approval of his advisers in the State Department on the one hand, and the President on the other. At the outset Hoover endorsed Stimson's analysis of the problem, and, as the days passed, Stimson was reassured to find that Hoover "thoroughly agreed" with him in his "caution."⁷ Undersecretary Castle rejoiced to see that Stimson was "looking at the whole thing very sanely" and not contemplating any such "precipitate action" as in 1929. Castle told Stanley K. Hornbeck, chief of the division of Far Eastern affairs, that Japanese control of Manchuria might prove to be the least of possible evils, and Hornbeck "ruefully agreed."⁸

⁵ Stimson diary, Sept. 22, 23, 24, 1931.

⁶ Stimson to Hugh Wilson (telegram), Sept. 23, 1931, in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1931* (Washington, 1946), III, 49.

⁷ Stimson diary, Sept. 24, 1931.

⁸ Castle diary, Sept. 29, 1931.

Even the isolationist leaders of the Senate could find little fault with the State Department during these weeks of watchful inactivity. True, the irrepressible Hiram Johnson sarcastically inquired: "Where now is the bugle call Mr. Stimson trumpeted so loudly and prematurely but a short time ago, when Russia and China were making faces at each other? Where is the League of Nations? Where is the sacrosanct Kellogg Pact?"⁹ But William E. Borah, chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations, agreed with Stimson "throughout" when Stimson took him aside to explain how he was co-operating with the League while preventing it from "leaving any baby" on his "doorstep." Stimson learned with satisfaction that Lord Reading, the British Foreign Secretary, was "taking very much the same policy . . . and not getting excited the way they did down in Geneva."¹⁰ The *Times* of London, spokesman for the Foreign Office, complimented Stimson on his "tactful" diplomacy. Tokyo as well as London applauded American policy, and so did most of the rest of the world except Geneva—and Nanking.¹¹

From Nanking came demands for a stronger stand by the United States, pleas for action by all the signatories of the Kellogg Pact, threats of a rapprochement with Russia as China's only alternative. All this did not swerve Stimson in the slightest from his adopted course. The League having adopted a resolution asking "both parties" in Manchuria to restore "normal relations," he merely advised the Nanking government that time must be allowed for Japan and China to carry out the League's request. And at length he reaffirmed his official attitude in a conversation with the Chinese *chargé d'affaires* in Washington: "We have not attempted to go into the question of right and wrong. . . . we are not taking sides. . . . we are 'playing no favorites.'" ¹²

That was on October 8. On the very same day Stimson's thinking and American policy reached a turning point. The change was precipitated by the news that Japanese planes were bombing the city of Chinchow in southern Manchuria, far from the railroad zone. From the "disquieting telegrams" he read, Stimson had to conclude that, for all Debuchi's promises, the Japanese army was expanding rather than contracting its operations. He told himself, "I am afraid we have got to take a firm ground and aggressive stand toward

⁹ Quoted in Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown, *The American Diplomatic Game* (New York, 1935), p. 308.

¹⁰ Stimson diary, Sept. 25, Oct. 6, 1931.

¹¹ London *Times*, Sept. 26, 1931, and Tokyo *Jiji*, Oct. 1, 1931, both quoted in Smith, *Manchurian Crisis*, pp. 44-45, 66-67.

¹² Memorandum of conversation between T. V. Soong and the American consul-general in Nanking, Oct. 2, 1931; Stimson to the American minister in China, Oct. 7, 1931; memorandum by Hornbeck, Oct. 8, 1931, in *Foreign Relations, 1931*, III, 104-106, 136, 137-39.

Japan." So far as he was concerned, the policy of "playing no favorites" was no sooner stated than, by the force of events, it had to be abandoned.¹³ Here his views and those of the President began to diverge a bit. When (October 9) he reported to the cabinet the new and ominous turn in Manchurian events, he felt that Hoover was not sufficiently impressed. The President, as Stimson noted, did not seem to realize quite what it meant "to have Japan run amok and play havoc with its peace treaties." Instead, the President insisted that we must be careful "not to get ourselves into a humiliating position, in case Japan refused to do anything about what he called our scraps of paper or paper treaties."

As Stimson saw it, the time had come to take the third and ultimate step among the alternatives he earlier had outlined—that is, to consider action under the Nine-Power Treaty or the Kellogg Pact. The latter he now put first, thinking that he would "probably push forward the Kellogg Pact" and hold the Nine-Power Treaty "in reserve" to facilitate an eventual peace conference between China and Japan. He decided, however, "not to initiate action" but to wait for the League.¹⁴ When he discussed his plan with his advisers, Castle and Hornbeck, he got their concurrence.¹⁵ And when he talked again with the President (October 10) he found him more than willing to go along. Hoover "even went so far as to say that we should authorize our man in Switzerland to sit with the Council." This suggestion had come originally from Norman Davis, head of the American delegation to the preparatory disarmament commission in Geneva, and Stimson had dismissed it as one of Davis' "rather wild propositions." He now welcomed the idea.¹⁶

The United States must be represented officially on the Council of the League! Having arrived independently at the same bold conclusion, Hoover and Stimson together determined to carry it out in the most cautious way possible so as not to offend public opinion whether American or Japanese. Hence the invitation must appear to come unprompted from the League, and the business of the extraordinary session must be confined strictly to the Kellogg Pact. When the Council began to discuss the invitation Stimson became alarmed at the Japanese opposition. "It lines us up vis-a-vis Japan," he

¹³ Stimson diary, Oct. 8, 1931. See Paul H. Clyde, "The Diplomacy of 'Playing No Favorites'; Secretary Stimson and Manchuria, 1931," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (1948), 187-202.

¹⁴ Stimson diary, Oct. 9, 10, 1931. See also Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, pp. 232-33.

¹⁵ "Stimson's ideas as to what should be done seem to me excellent," Castle wrote, but Hornbeck apparently was less enthusiastic. "I must ask Hornbeck to try his darndest to work in the Secretary's manner and not stir him up as he did yesterday." Castle diary, Oct. 10, 1931.

¹⁶ Stimson diary, Sept. 23, Oct. 10, 1931. See also Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, p. 60.

thought, "just the position that I have been trying to avoid." In cabinet he raised the question (October 16) whether at the last minute the United States should not decline the Council's invitation. But he discovered that "the President was very strong that we should keep right on. He has been first-rate throughout . . . taking a clear and unequivocal stand."¹⁷

And so, despite Japan's dissenting vote, the American consul in Geneva, Prentiss Gilbert, sat at the Council table in an open meeting and then in a secret session to discuss the invocation of the Kellogg Pact. The conferees decided, on October 17, that the Council should call upon all the signatories to remind China and Japan of their obligations under the pact of peace. This decision, with a representative of the United States participating, climaxed the first phase of American policy making with respect to the Manchurian crisis.

The rest was anticlimax. As soon as the decision had been made, Stimson "thought it advisable to terminate the outward appearance at least of Gilbert's connection with the Council." Castle and Hornbeck concurred. But the British and the French protested against the withdrawal of Gilbert: it might look like a gesture disapproving the League's action. Reluctantly Stimson concluded to "let him go on sitting at the damned table" on the condition that he "keep his mouth shut" to show that he was no longer a participant, only an observer. Then, to re-emphasize the League's initiative, Stimson delayed sending his note on the Kellogg Pact to China and Japan until three days after Great Britain, France, and other League members had sent theirs. And when the Council passed a resolution calling upon Japan to evacuate Chinese territory by November 16, he hesitated to endorse it. Some of its points he thought were "unwise" and might "lead to a deadlock"; his "problem" was to compose for Japan a statement which would "back up the things which we believe in and back their [the League's] position up in general" without committing this country to the "unwise things." He accepted as the basis of his note on the League resolution a draft prepared by Castle, who "had rather cleverly met the difficulties which faced us of putting our statements in an inoffensive form." This note omitted any reference to the November 16 deadline, the nub of the League's resolution, and was not communicated to Japan until two weeks after the League had acted.¹⁸

So the United States followed the League—at a distance and with qualifications—in making a verbal application of the Kellogg Pact to the Man-

¹⁷ Stimson diary, Oct. 10, 13, 15, 16, 1931.

¹⁸ The quotations are from *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 20, 29, Nov. 3, 1931. See also Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, p. 60; Pearson and Brown, pp. 312-16; Smith, *Manchurian Crisis*, pp. 92-127; Clyde, pp. 196-98.

churian affair. This was Stimson's policy, and it was also Hoover's. The two men had agreed upon each careful step, but the one was willing to consider going farther, and the other was beginning to fear that they had gone too far already. As Castle observed on November 4, after lunching with the President, "he wants to get completely out of the League connection and thinks it might have been wise, politically, to make Stimson keep out."¹⁹

The assumption underlying American policy at the start of the Manchurian crisis did not remain tenable for long—the assumption that forbearance by the United States would enable the Japanese moderates to retain power and check the militarists. As early as November 7, 1931, Stimson observed, "It looks now as if the military element in Japan might get control." On November 19, after hearing that Japanese troops had taken Tsitsihar, in far northern Manchuria, he inferred that "the Japanese government which we have been dealing with is no longer in control; the situation is in the hands of virtually mad dogs." On December 11 he imparted to the cabinet the news that the Wakatsuki-Shidehara ministry had actually fallen, and he pointed out the "imminent danger of a new movement by the Japanese army." On January 2, 1932, he learned that the army had occupied Chinchow and so had brought "the Manchurian matter up to a final climax": the conquest of Manchuria was an accomplished fact. Meanwhile, as soon as they foresaw this as the probable outcome, he and Hoover had begun to consider "eventualities" and ways to deal with them.²⁰ The upshot was the announcement of the famous nonrecognition doctrine. That was the work of both the President and the Secretary, the one proposing the general principle and the other developing and applying it, but before concurring in it they debated another possible line of action—co-operation with the League in the exertion of economic pressure upon Japan.

Stimson first broached this subject to Hoover, rather tentatively, on October 17, while the American representative was sitting with the League Council. At that time some of the delegates in Geneva were thinking, unofficially, of the possibility of the League's resorting to economic sanctions. The question arose whether the United States would co-operate, at least passively, by refraining from the use of its navy to maintain the freedom of the seas against a League blockade. Even before the Manchurian crisis this question had come up repeatedly in a theoretical form, and Hoover always had refused to yield on American neutral rights, while Stimson had inclined to

¹⁹ Castle diary, Nov. 4, 1931.

²⁰ Stimson diary, Nov. 7, 19, Dec. 11, 1931; Jan. 2, 1932.

the belief that in an actual test the United States would not employ its navy to frustrate concerted action against an aggressor.²¹ Now that the issue apparently was becoming a practical one, Stimson faced the problem of making his position acceptable to the President, as well as to the American people, and he thought he had hit upon a brilliantly simple solution when someone suggested to him the relevancy of the Kellogg Pact. Let the pact be the touchstone: the United States could judge other nations by it and refuse to interfere with sanctions against a violator.

When Stimson recommended this to the President, it provoked a long argument, but Hoover "promised finally that he would think it over with an open mind."²² After thinking it over, he addressed the entire cabinet with a statement in which he limited American action to "moral pressures" alone and ruled out economic and military sanctions as "roads to war."²³ Though not a specific reply to Stimson's proposal, the President's blast seemed to impress the Secretary of State. "I concur with him as to the danger of a blockade leading to war," he told his diary (November 7) after Hoover once more had spoken against the use of economic pressure. Again, in answer to Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley, who insisted in cabinet that "the Japanese were going to seize Manchuria anyhow," unless stopped by force, Stimson averred that "the policy of imposing sanctions of force" had been "rejected by America in its rejection of the League of Nations." Hoover backed him up "very fully."²⁴

Then the sudden extension of warfare in Manchuria, culminating in the capture of Tsitsihar on November 17, induced some change of heart in both the President and the Secretary of State. The move of the Japanese army looked like a defiant reply to the League resolution calling for withdrawal from Chinese territory by November 16. The Council now reconvened in Paris, and Stimson prevailed upon Hoover to send Ambassador Charles G. Dawes there from London to be accessible to its members, though not to

²¹ In the discussions of naval limitations in 1929 and 1930 Hoover opposed food blockades as violating the freedom of the seas, and he refused to consider a consultative pact which might bind the United States to co-operate, at least passively, in a British blockade against an aggressor designated by the League. Stimson favored such a consultative pact. He also told Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, August 7, 1931: "... I could not believe that any American Government would seek to use our Navy to enforce an extreme doctrine of neutrality under which American merchants were seeking to trade with an aggressor nation so declared by the League and against whom Britain and British public opinion were sanctioning the use of the British Navy." *Hoover Memoirs*, II, 345-48; Stimson diary, Aug. 7, 1931. See also *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1930.

²² Stimson diary, Oct. 17, 1931.

²³ Wilbur and Hyde, pp. 600-601; Myers, *Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover*, pp. 156-59; *Hoover Memoirs*, II, 368-70.

²⁴ Stimson diary, Nov. 9, 13, 1931.

join their sittings. Dawes reported to Stimson that the League now would probably consider sanctions and that even Sir John Simon, the new British Foreign Secretary, was "inclined to think" that "the League should go to the limit of its powers." Stimson informed Dawes that an embargo meant war and therefore the United States could not aid in enforcing one, but he assured Dawes that the American fleet would not interfere with it. Hoover, who struck Stimson as "quiet but determined," approved the message to Dawes. "The President added," according to Stimson, that he thought I could tell him [Dawes] again that the sympathy of our people undoubtedly would be with the embargo, and that there might be a private embargo put on here by voluntary action in refusing to trade with Japan."²⁵

For the President, this was going pretty far, and yet Stimson soon began to wonder whether it was far enough. On November 27 he proposed to Hoover that they reconsider the question of American participation in an embargo. He argued, first, that sanctions against Japan would be brief if all the powers, including the United States, joined in ("She would have to surrender very quickly"); second, "that the militaristic elements in Japan could learn only through suffering and not by the sanctions of public opinion"; third, that it would be a tremendous blow to world peace "if Japan really gets away with this." The President, however, refused to reverse himself. He still thought of sanctions as the road to war; his Secretary was beginning to think of sanctions as a way to peace, though he admitted to his diary, "I have not yet made up my own mind on the subject."²⁶

Stimson, thus undecided, fluctuated during December between the President's position and that of the "many people" who, he said, were "getting impatient and urging drastic steps or words" upon him. Among these people were his closest personal advisers in the State Department: his special assistant, Allen T. Klots, and the Assistant Secretary of State, James Grafton Rogers. Hornbeck inclined at times toward these extremists, but Castle remained the advocate of circumspection. The four of them, with Stimson presiding, took part in a "vigorous meeting" at Woodley, his Washington residence, on December 6, while in Geneva the League Council was considering not sanctions but an investigation (ultimately to be carried out by the Lytton Commission). The question at Woodley was what "the next step" for the United States should be if the League plans for a neutral commission fell through. Three of the experts, Castle alone dissenting, favored "economic

²⁵ Dawes to Stimson, Nov. 18, 1931; memorandum of transatlantic telephone conversation between Stimson and Dawes, Nov. 19, 1931, in *Foreign Relations, 1931*, III, 484, 488-98; Stimson diary, Nov. 19, 1931.

²⁶ Stimson diary, Nov. 27, 1931.

measures," but, as Stimson noted, "We all agreed that if possible action should come from the other nations first." On the whole the Secretary himself was noncommittal at the meeting, though he confided to his diary that Hornbeck went "too far against Japan" for him. Castle assumed that the Secretary leaned in Castle's own direction. After this conference Stimson saw Hoover at the White House and was surprised to find "he was not absolutely and to the last against a boycott." The President felt, however, that we would have to base the action on the Nine-Power Treaty and "not go into it behind the League." Accordingly Stimson began hopefully to think of planning a nine-power conference, then became discouraged when the President in his special message to Congress on foreign affairs, December 10, omitted a "warning sentence" which Stimson wanted him to include. Senator Borah decried the current "talk of the use of force or intervention," while the Scripps-Howard newspapers were "pounding the government for not being more aggressive towards Japan." Stimson finally invited Roy Howard and his chief editorial writer to lunch and tried to make them "see the folly of taking an aggressive step" at that time.²⁷

Casting about for an alternative to economic pressure, the President weeks earlier had begun to make suggestions, one of which was to lead eventually to the nonrecognition announcement. On November 7 he proposed to Stimson that the American government recall its ambassador from Japan but, at the same time, to make the protest a strictly peaceful one, issue a public statement disclaiming all thought of war. Then he got what he considered a better idea. "He is beginning to swing against the idea of withdrawing the Ambassador," Stimson recorded as of November 9, "and thinks his main weapon is to give an announcement that if the treaty [presumably to be made between Japan and China] is made under military pressure we will not recognize it or avow it." At once Stimson discussed this proposal with his advisers. Castle favored it, especially if the announcement were made "together with the rest of the world," though he cautioned the Secretary that "even then we must be careful" because, "if the resultant treaties should be eminently fair," it might prove embarrassing to refuse to recognize them. Hornbeck opposed the plan, arguing that Secretary Bryan had tried it in 1915 without results. But Stimson himself thought that, even as used in 1915, by the United States alone, nonrecognition had become "one of the potent forces" that finally brought about a Far Eastern settlement at the Washington conference of 1921-22. Now, if the "disavowal" were "made by all of the countries, it

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 6, 8, 9, 1931; Castle diary, Dec. 7, 1931; New York Times, Nov. 22, 1931, quoted in Smith, *Manchurian Crisis*, pp. 179-81.

ought to have a very potent effect" in bringing about an "ultimate solution," which would "of course involve elements of compromise."²⁸

Stimson delayed acting on the nonrecognition plan, partly because almost to the last he had lingering hopes that the Japanese might yet reverse themselves in Manchuria;²⁹ partly because he was waiting to see what the League would do, especially with regard to sanctions; and partly because some American experts on the Far East, even more cautious than the President, considered the plan too drastic. One of those counseling caution was Stimson's old friend, former law partner, and highly respected mentor in international affairs—Elihu Root. "Allen Klots brought me back interesting news from Mr. Root," Stimson noted on November 14. "Rather to my surprise Mr. Root is more sympathetic with Japan than with China; and he is very fearful lest we do not recognize her real claims to Manchuria."³⁰ Nevertheless the Secretary continued to ponder and to elaborate the nonrecognition idea, associating with it the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg Pact, and planning to reveal, simultaneously with its announcement, some of the documents bearing on the Manchurian affair. As he informed Dawes in Paris, November 19, "... the only act we see we could do would be to publish the papers and the correspondence, announce our disapproval of the action of Japan, possibly calling it a violation of these treaties and then announce as we did in 1915 that we would not recognize any treaties that were created under military force."³¹ By December 2 he was almost ready to cable Dawes a "final statement" warning Japan about the refusal to recognize. But his assistant Klots, after consulting three State Department experts, reported back to him that they all advised holding up the message for fear "it would make Japan so recalcitrant in any future negotiations over Manchuria that it would simply invite trouble." He "put aside the cable for the present."³²

A month later, January 2, 1932, when he got news of the Japanese occupation of Chinchow, which brought "the Manchurian matter up to a final climax," Stimson suddenly decided to act. The next morning, a Sunday, he arose at six "with my mind rather clarified on what I wanted to do. I went down to my library and there wrote out in long hand a short note to the Chinese Government and to the Japanese Government, based largely upon

²⁸ Stimson diary, Nov. 7, 9, 1931; Castle diary, Nov. 9, 1931.

²⁹ As late as November 30, 1931, Stimson said in his diary: "... the Japanese Ambassador came in with some more news from Manchuria, which was pretty good this time. I think now the Japanese don't intend to let their army do any more solo work, and I think they will go ahead and make a settlement."

³⁰ Stimson diary, Nov. 14, 1931.

³¹ *Foreign Relations, 1931*, III, 496-97.

³² Stimson diary, Dec. 2, 3, 1931.

the note of 1915. Previously we had been thinking of a longer note. . . ." In the evening he showed his draft to Klots and the foreign policy specialists Hunter Miller, Ransford Miller, and George H. Blakeslee. "They were staggered by it at first because it was so different from what we had been thinking [of], but they gradually came around to it. . . ." On the following day, January 4, after conferring with Rogers, Klots, and Hornbeck, he took a revised draft of the new and relatively pointed note, together with a copy of the old and more diffuse one, to the White House, where he showed Hoover the short version first. Hoover approved it. Stimson "pointed out the dangers . . . if the Japanese called our position . . . and tried to annex Manchuria," but Hoover was "willing to take that risk."³³

The President approved, but the Secretary still faced some opposition within the State Department. In a "brief final session on the draft of the note," on January 6, Castle was in general enthusiastic and especially liked "bringing the Kellogg Pact in," but he objected to a sentence which made the United States as a signatory of the Nine-Power Treaty appear, incorrectly, to "guarantee" (rather than merely "respect") the integrity of China, and the wording was changed.³⁴ Hornbeck not only objected to the wording—he thought "does not intend" to recognize was better than "will not"—but, according to Stimson, he also "fought rather tenaciously against a definite statement" at all. "I thought his words were a little too weak," Stimson said in his diary, "although I consented to making the note a little bit softer than it had been originally."³⁵

Next day, January 7, 1932, copies of the note went off to China and Japan. The essence of it was as follows:

. . . the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Government of the Chinese Republic and the Imperial Japanese Government that it can not admit the legality of any situation *de facto* nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, commonly known as the open-door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties.³⁶

This was a unilateral *démarche* by the United States and not a joint announcement with other powers such as Stimson at first had envisaged. After

³³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 3, 4, 1932.

³⁴ Castle diary, Jan. 7, 1932.

³⁵ Stimson diary, Jan. 6, 1932.

³⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1932* (Washington, 1948), III, 8.

the sending of the notes, however, and almost as an afterthought, he did carry out Castle's last-minute suggestion of inviting the other signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty (but not those of the Kellogg Pact) to dispatch similar notes.³⁷

The *Times* of London published the Foreign Office reply of January 9 and endorsed it in a sarcastic editorial. The Foreign Office referred to Japanese statements describing Japan as "the champion in Manchuria of the principle of equal opportunity and the open door," then declared that "in view of these statements" his majesty's government had "not considered it necessary to address any formal note to the Japanese Government on the lines of the American Government's note." Of this rebuff, Stimson observed that "it was not at all unexpected so far as I was concerned." True, he had told the British ambassador two days in advance what he was going to do, and had "hoped that his government would take a similar stand." On the night of January 7, however, he learned from the French ambassador that Great Britain was refusing to join in a French protest against Japan's taking Chin-chow. "So, therefore, No. 1 is backing out," he inferred, but he did not blame "poor old England," beset as she was by "troubles with India" and "financial troubles at home."

The American reaction to the notes was most encouraging to him. He tactfully explained to Senator Borah that he "had not consulted him beforehand" because he "did not want to dump the responsibility on him," and Borah responded by praising the *démarche* in general and in detail. Then the two men made arrangements for the delivery to the Senate of the State Department's correspondence on Manchuria.³⁸

Though the publication of the correspondence was intended to "educate" American public opinion, Stimson, for the time being, looked upon the non-recognition warning itself as a step toward "the eventual settlement of Manchuria by negotiation" and not as a step toward forceful measures. So he could not agree when Senator Claude A. Swanson of the naval affairs committee commented on the unusually "strong language" of the notes, then "suggested that we move the fleet to Hawaii, merely as a demonstration." Stimson remarked to the Senator that *that* would be unusually "strong." And to Representative Cordell Hull, who was promoting a bill "to give the President discretionary power to put an embargo on exports on [*sic*] nations which violate the Pact of Paris," the Secretary said "it would be very dangerous to have it brought up just now, because everybody would discuss

³⁷ Stimson diary, Jan. 6, 7, 1932.

³⁸ London *Times*, Jan. 11, 1932; Stimson diary, Jan. 7, 9, 1932.

Japan.”³⁹ Within a few days his attitude was to change rather abruptly with the march of events in the Far East.

A new phase of the policy debate within the American government began during the last week of January, 1932, when Japanese troops moved against the Chinese in and around Shanghai.

As soon as it appeared that the Japanese were going to attack in China proper, to break the Chinese boycott against Japan, Stimson took the lead in demanding vigorous action by the United States and Great Britain. He was urged on by his law partner, Bronson Winthrop, who was “quite het up about the Japanese threat against Shanghai” and wanted “to see the British and American fleets lined up there against any attempt to overawe the Chinese or to prevent a real honest boycott.” When, however, the Secretary called in Hornbeck, Klots, Castle, and a couple of other State Department advisers (January 25) he found them all so hesitant that he “had to put on the pressure.”⁴⁰ Castle, who noted that the Secretary was “in a high state of excitement,” agreed with him that Japan had less excuse in Shanghai than in Manchuria but thought that Japan did have a real grievance in the boycott, enforced by arson and murder, and in the general disorder and lack of a stable government in China.⁴¹ Even Navy Secretary Charles F. Adams and Admiral William V. Pratt were slow to see things as Stimson did. “They were not alive to the situation,” he observed after a conversation with them, “but became so after the talk got on.” The President himself, by contrast, was “thoroughly alive” from the start and quickly endorsed Stimson’s “proposition” embracing a joint Anglo-American protest to Japan and the movement of British and American naval forces to Shanghai. Stimson then presented his case to the British ambassador, Sir Ronald Lindsay.⁴²

After the Japanese had launched their threatened move against Shanghai, Hoover did as Stimson had proposed: he quickly sent men and ships to join the British at the scene of fighting, and he later reinforced the American bases in Hawaii and the Philippines. He was willing enough to use the navy, but his purpose was considerably narrower than Stimson’s. His own object was “to protect the lives of Americans”; “strict orders were issued that our forces should confine themselves to the task of protecting Americans.”⁴³ And Castle believed, “This is, of course, for the protection of American life

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 21, 1932.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 25, 1932.

⁴¹ Castle diary, Jan. 25, 1932.

⁴² Stimson diary, Jan. 25, 1932. See also Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, pp. 241–42.

⁴³ *Hoover Memoirs*, II, 374; Myers, *Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover*, p. 162.

and property, seriously endangered, in all probability more from the Chinese than from the Japanese.”⁴⁴ Stimson, however, had other ends in view. When he first spoke to Sir Ronald Lindsay on the subject, he did say that “our Consuls up the River were calling for additional war vessels because they anticipated the possibility that we would have to rescue and remove our nationals.” He also said he “did not intend any threat against Japan; our Asiatic squadron was not large enough to constitute a threat.” But he added that the presence of American and British warships would have a “beneficial effect” on Japan, would “strengthen the hands of Chiang Kai-Shek,” and would help to salvage the Anglo-American policy of the Open Door.⁴⁵

In the cabinet discussions preceding and accompanying the dispatch of naval forces, Stimson made it perfectly clear that, unlike Hoover, he wished to bluff and threaten Japan. He said (January 26) he “realized the importance of having Japan fear this country” and was glad it happened that “the fleet was going to have its battle practice this time off Hawaii.” War Secretary Hurley, opposing further notes and protests and deprecating nonrecognition, argued that we should put up or shut up, should either use our fleet (along with the British) to restrain Japan or else say and do nothing. The President stood in between the two secretaries. For Hurley’s benefit he warned of the “folly of getting into a war with Japan on this subject” and “said he would fight for Continental United States as far as anybody, but would not fight for Asia.” Turning to Stimson, he complimented him on his mobilization of public opinion behind the Kellogg Pact in 1929 and his non-recognition notes of January 7, 1932, but refused to approve a policy of threat. Stimson reflected afterward upon “the great difference and difficulty” which he was having with the President. “He has not got the slightest element of even the fairest kind of bluff.” At the next cabinet meeting (January 29) Stimson requested “that there should be no talk or action by anyone which should indicate that we were not going to use any weapon that we might have, whether it be the fleet or the boycott.”⁴⁶

Instead of heeding this request, Hoover turned to conciliatory methods of ending the fighting in Shanghai. At the end of January he suggested that he and King George appeal publicly to the emperor of Japan, but Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald replied that this would be contrary to royal etiquette. Next morning, February 1, according to Castle’s record, “the President had a new idea which was to make joint representations to the Chinese and Japanese to stop fighting and to open direct negotiations with neutral ob-

⁴⁴ Castle diary, Feb. 2, 1932.

⁴⁵ Stimson diary, Jan. 25, 1932.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 29, 1932. See also Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, pp. 243-45.

servers.”⁴⁷ After Great Britain, France, and Italy had joined the United States in this mediation offer, the President spoke out to show that it was not intended as a means of bluffing or coercing Japan. “He came out with one of his statements that we weren’t going to fight,” Stimson later complained, and he thereby “spoiled the impression” which Stimson had desired to make.⁴⁸

At the moment Stimson was thinking much in terms of naval power, little in terms of economic pressure. When China appealed to the League under Article XV of the Covenant, talk of sanctions was revived in Geneva, and discussions of an arms embargo began “making a good deal of a rumpus,” as Stimson put it, in the House committee on foreign affairs. Again, as with Congressman Hull a few weeks earlier, he tried (February 13) to discourage consideration of such a law. He instructed Rogers to tell Representative Linthicum, “. . . we have a treaty with Japan which really prevents an embargo, and to denounce that treaty . . . involves a very serious question because it would terminate all our port arrangements and everything else with Japan.” And when an emissary came to him with a petition sponsored by A. Lawrence Lowell and endorsed by Newton D. Baker, “asking us not to block the way for the sanctions of the League by refusing to refrain from trade with Japan in case the League leads the way,” he replied that the League members obviously were *not* leading the way; “none of them were willing to apply sanctions, whatever we did.” He reflected to himself, “It is very curious now to have a peace man trying to urge action which normally leads to war.” For the moment, he could see no point in trying to co-operate with the League. He was returning to his “old view” that the United States could not “dispense with police force; and the only police force I have got to depend upon today is the American Navy.”⁴⁹

Comparing the Japanese attack on Shanghai with the German invasion of Belgium, he remembered “how outraged we were when President Wilson did nothing to show the shame that we felt,” and he was “anxious that Mr. Hoover should not be put in the same position.” So he wished to do something to “sum up the situation officially” and “put the situation morally in its right place.” To his “relief” he found that Hoover was “very sympathetic” with this particular proposal. When he went farther, however, and spoke his mind to the President about the need for “leadership” and for avoiding Wilson’s timid example, the two men “had a set-to back and forth.” And Stimson later learned to his dismay that Hoover lacked “appreciation of the

⁴⁷ Castle diary, Jan. 30, Feb. 1, 1932.

⁴⁸ Stimson diary, Mar. 29, 1932.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 18, 1932.

real nobility of the traditional and standard American doctrine towards China of the 'Open Door.' He himself appreciated it so much that he even regretted to see the "prospect of the cessation of hostilities" in Shanghai. "I am unhappy," he confessed to his diary, "because if they cease they will cease without America having said her word on the morality of this great situation."⁵⁰

What he had specifically in mind, on and after February 8, was a restatement of the nonrecognition doctrine. This time he intended to emphasize the Nine-Power Treaty rather than the Kellogg Pact, and he hoped to persuade Great Britain to join with the United States. "He has been working on a new note, based on the Nine Power Treaty," Castle observed on February 12, "which really only re-iterated the point in our note of January 7th that we will not recognize treaties resulting from the present military operations." After this note had "occupied him exclusively for a week," however, he gave it up because the British government, as he learned in mid-February, preferred to act with the League.⁵¹

Looking to the future, he began to consider what the United States could or would do in case the League should ever proceed against Japan with either an economic or a diplomatic boycott. Having changed his own mind again about an embargo, he tried to change the President's mind, without success. But he did persuade Hoover at least "to intimate in some way to the League," as Castle had it from Stimson, "that if that august body finds Japan guilty of creating a state of war we will go along with the other powers in withdrawing our Ambassador." Stimson was encouraged. "This," he thought, "is a long step towards combativeness for the President."

Meanwhile he still longed to have his say on the "morality of the situation," to express his "sentiments on the Open Door without making a speech. The British have pocketed me on the note method of doing it. I do not dare to send a note on the Nine-Power Treaty for fear of the yellow-bellied responses that I will get from some of the countries." On February 21 Rogers suggested that the Secretary "might write a letter to somebody." And after a conference at Woodley that day Castle noted that "it was finally decided that the Secretary should write a letter to Borah, if possible, setting forth the ideas of this Government as to the Open Door, etc. in a fashion which would get public sentiment behind us in this country and at the same time show the League how far we were willing to go."⁵²

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 18, 20, 1932.

⁵¹ Castle diary, Feb. 12, 15, 16, 19, 1932.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1932; Stimson diary, Feb. 21, 1932.

Stimson's Borah letter, drafted with the aid of Hornbeck, gave a long exposition of the Open Door policy, denied the Japanese contention that the Nine-Power Treaty needed to be revised, reaffirmed the nonrecognition principle, and recommended that "the other governments of the world" adopt it, so as to express a "caveat" which would "effectively bar the legality hereafter of any right or title sought to be obtained by pressure or treaty violations." The letter also added a new and distinctive element to the American case against Japan. This was the contention that the three Washington conference treaties of 1922—the Nine-Power, Five-Power, and Four-Power pacts—were "interdependent and interrelated." The United States, Stimson argued, had agreed to limit its battleship construction and to leave its bases at Guam and the Philippines without further fortification in return for Japan's agreeing to respect the Open Door and the integrity of China. He indicated that, if Japan was to persist in violating Chinese integrity, the United States would consider itself released from the limitations on its navy and its Pacific fortifications.⁵³

Castle, "after a hasty reading of the letter," gave it his "wholehearted approval" and said to himself, "That is the kind of thing which the Secretary, a lawyer, can do admirably." But Hoover, when Stimson showed the draft to him, "suggested putting in a sentence which would relate to the public opinion of the world as the sanction behind our note of January 7th and behind the action which the Borah letter proposes." Stimson "persuaded him to cut it out" with the argument that the sentence would "be used to indicate that under no possibility would we use any sanction of a boycott." Stimson "preferred to leave the Japanese guessing on that point still."⁵⁴

The letter was dated February 23 and published on February 24. Next day Stimson went to show the President a batch of congratulatory cables he had received. "It was lucky I did," he thought. Hoover "was proposing to tell the people of the United States that under no circumstances would we go to war. He has been rather frightened by the reaction of the big Navy people to my letter . . . without stopping to remember that the reaction of the peace people had been equally favorable." Stimson told Hoover that a no-war announcement "would make people think he did not endorse my letter instead of endorsing it most thoroughly as he had and it would remove the last little lingering doubt in the minds of Japan as to the possibility of our doing something which would be serious against them." And again on the following

⁵³ Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, pp. 166–75; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, pp. 246–56.

⁵⁴ Castle diary, Feb. 23, 1932; Stimson diary, Feb. 24, 1932.

day Stimson talked Hoover out of making a public statement to the effect that the United States would use absolutely nothing but *moral* sanctions.⁵⁵

The Borah letter, Stimson said in retrospect, was intended for "at least five unnamed addressees" and was designed to "encourage China, enlighten the American public, exhort the League, stir up the British, and warn Japan."⁵⁶ It achieved at least a partial success, though at first, on March 3, Stimson felt "slapped in the face" when he saw London press reports indicating that the British were "not going to follow our action in regard to recognition." He thought, "This is a singular and rather startling eventuality in view of the attitude which Sir John Simon has been taking to me over the telephone from Geneva." Then, within a few days, Sir John himself began to champion nonrecognition before the League, and on March 11 the Assembly adopted a resolution incorporating the principle.⁵⁷

But Stimson had much more in mind than merely nonrecognition when he thought of encouraging China, enlightening the American public, exhorting the League, stirring up the British, and warning Japan. He was now looking toward the eventual use of economic sanctions. "If a situation should ultimately arise when the American government felt it necessary to recommend the imposition, in cooperation with the rest of the world, of an embargo upon Japanese goods," he wrote in 1936, "I believed that such a measure would have more chance of being adopted by Congress if it were recommended following the invocation of the Nine Power Treaty than if it had been recommended solely by the League of Nations."⁵⁸ And he was also looking, more immediately, toward the use or at least the threat of American naval power. Though he protested that he "had been very careful not to make any threats" in the Borah letter,⁵⁹ his reference to the interdependence of the Washington conference treaties clearly implied the threat of a new naval race, if not actually a war, in the Pacific. To him, though not to Hoover, the publication of the letter as well as the naval display at Shanghai was a far-seeing move in a game of diplomatic bluff and power politics.

Peace came to Shanghai early in May, the Japanese withdrawing in frustration, which Stimson attributed largely to his own policy of bluff.⁶⁰ In Manchuria, however, they proceeded with the creation of a puppet state.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 26, 1932.

⁵⁶ Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, p. 175; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 249.

⁵⁷ Stimson diary, Mar. 3, 1932; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 257.

⁵⁸ Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, pp. 161-62.

⁵⁹ Stimson diary, Feb. 25, 1932.

⁶⁰ Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, pp. 137-38; Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 242.

Throughout that spring and summer of 1932, as they consolidated their newly won position in Asia, the policy of the United States became increasingly ambivalent.

While the Shanghai incident was still dragging on, Stimson began to think in terms of an eventual Japanese-American war. There was "shaping up an issue between the two great theories of civilization," he believed, and it was "almost impossible that there should not be an armed clash between two such different civilizations."⁶¹ Hornbeck, too, predicted that the conquest of Manchuria would lead to the conquest of China and "eventually to war" between Japan and the United States. "And if this might lead to war in the future," queried Castle, "is that any less bad than to take steps with regard to Manchuria which would lead to war now?"⁶² In the cabinet (April 5) Stimson talked at length on "the challenge which Japan had made to the civilization of the West," and ended with "a warning that the President had better keep his powder dry." The Secretaries of War and the Navy seconded him, but the President was not impressed. He only said something about "phantasmagorias."⁶³

War sometime—maybe soon. Stimson thought there was a "ticklish situation in Shanghai and Tokyo," and "at any moment an accident might occur which would set the whole world on fire." And so he became concerned about instant as well as ultimate readiness. He consulted Admiral Pratt about the relative states of preparedness of the Japanese and American navies, Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur about the maintenance of American troops in China, and banker Thomas W. Lamont about the "financial susceptibility" of Japan in case of war. He was "much alarmed about the present situation of the Navy," which appeared to be "more unequal" than he had thought "to meeting Japan," and he told Hoover so. "The President said that was all the more reason for not having an offensive Navy," Stimson noted. "I said I wasn't talking about an offensive but a defensive Navy."⁶⁴

Hoover's attitude depressed Stimson, especially after Norman Davis returned from Geneva and called at the State Department (March 29). Davis told Stimson that Hoover's disclaimer of any intention to fight, at the time of the joint representations to Japan early in February, had left a very unfortunate impression at the League capital. He advised the Secretary to go in person to Geneva, presumably to correct that bad impression. According to Stimson's diary, Hoover readily consented to his making the trip with the

⁶¹ Stimson diary, Mar. 9, 1932. See also Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 255.

⁶² Castle diary, Apr. 4, 1932.

⁶³ Stimson diary, Apr. 5, 1932.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 2, 8, 10, 16, 1932.

object of discussing both disarmament and the Far Eastern crisis.⁶⁵ According to Hoover's press statement (April 5) announcing Stimson's departure, the object of the mission was to assist the work of the disarmament conference and nothing else: "This is the sole purpose of the Secretary's visit."⁶⁶ According to Stimson's memoirs, "Stimson set himself at Geneva . . . to the purpose of obtaining . . . a world judgment against Japan," so that, if worse should come to worst, "it would lay a firm foundation of principle upon which the Western nations and China could stand in a later reckoning."⁶⁷

For several weeks in April and May, while Secretary Stimson was abroad pursuing one line of policy, Undersecretary Castle took his place in the cabinet and, together with the President, laid down a quite different line. Hoover long had wanted to claim the nonrecognition doctrine as his own and define it in his terms. As early as February 18 Castle had written:

The President said a couple of days ago that for the coming election he must have all the support he can get. He wants Stimson—if we get across the Nine Power note making more or less universal the idea that the world will not recognize treaties, etc. which result from the use of force—to make a speech somewhere and proclaim this as the Hoover doctrine. As the President says, it is a tremendous step, a longer step toward eliminating force from international affairs than anything which has been done. He said that he had to wrestle with Stimson for days to get it across, that the Secretary wanted always to go in for withdrawal of diplomats or an economic embargo, either or both of which measures would almost inevitably lead to war. I knew that the Secretary had always played with those ideas, but gathered from him that he had, with great difficulty, put across the idea embodied in his note of January 7. It would hurt his feelings terribly to have this called the Hoover doctrine because he thinks of it as one very important star which history will put to his credit.

Stimson declined to speak out as the President desired him to, on the grounds that it was improper for members of the State Department to make political speeches.⁶⁸ And he still held back when, as he himself put it, "Secretary Hurley came in to talk to me about the 'Stimson Doctrine' of the Borah letter" and said he was "anxious to have me say something to indicate that the President had actively shared in this matter, so that it could be used in the campaign in his favor. I pointed out that I had already done this in my letter to Borah, where I pointed out that my note of January seventh had been sent at the President's instructions."⁶⁹ Stimson having repeatedly re-

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1932.

⁶⁶ William S. Myers, ed., *The State Papers and Other Public Writings of Herbert Hoover* (New York, 1934), II, 157-58.

⁶⁷ Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 258.

⁶⁸ Castle diary, Feb. 18, Apr. 8, 1932.

⁶⁹ Stimson also took occasion, when talking with a couple of newspapermen, to "emphasize again the President's part in this matter." Stimson diary, Mar. 12, 1932. In his book of 1936,

fused to champion the "Hoover doctrine," the President turned to Castle, who wrote (April 1), "He wants me to talk about the new doctrine . . . of not recognizing . . . which he rightly feels is his own."⁷⁰ After Stimson had left for Europe—where he was to reach an "understanding" with Sir John Simon about "working hand in hand with regard to the Far East"⁷¹—Castle made two addresses in which he assured the American people that their government's policy excluded sanctions of economic pressure or military force. The people did not realize that at the moment the United States was engaging in a kind of dual diplomacy almost comparable to that of Japan herself!

Hoover dreaded Stimson's return, and the Secretary on his arrival home was indeed incensed on account of Castle's speeches. He waited for an explanation. After a few days, taking full responsibility, Hoover offered one. He said, according to Stimson, that "he had gotten very nervous about the excited feeling in Japan" while Stimson was away. He had been "afraid it might lead to some attack on us and thought the best way to prevent it was to come out and say that we were not going to boycott them." Meanwhile Stimson was already planning a continuation of his policy of naval display and an extension of the nonrecognition doctrine. He now thought the fleet, after the completion of its war games, should remain at Hawaii as a restraining influence upon Japan. In addition, he thought the United States should announce its refusal to recognize not only territorial changes made by aggression but also belligerent rights claimed by an aggressor. We should "implement the Kellogg Pact with a declaration as to what we would do in not recognizing a nation which was declared an aggressor by the League of Nations, and who had also broken the Kellogg Pact." So Stimson told Hoover, but he inferred that the President, while "in favor of the proposition," was "afraid to do it during the presidential campaign." With the aid of Admiral Pratt he did persuade the President to keep the fleet at Pearl Harbor.⁷²

Hoover looked upon disarmament, rather than sanctions, as a proper corollary of the Kellogg Pact. The pact, he reasoned, meant that the nations of the world should use their arms only for defense. They should increase the power of defense by "decreases in the power of attack," by drastic cuts in

however, he did not emphasize the President's part but wrote of the origin of the nonrecognition idea, without mentioning Hoover: "I find from my diary that as early as November 9th I discussed it with my assistants as an ultimate possible weapon to be used, and thereafter it was constantly cropping up in our discussions." *Far Eastern Crisis*, p. 93.

⁷⁰ Castle diary, Apr. 1, 1932.

⁷¹ Stimson diary, May 17, 1932.

⁷² Castle diary, May 2, 15, 1932; Stimson diary, May 16, 18, 19, 20, 1932. See also Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, pp. 137-38.

their land, air, and naval forces.⁷³ Such was Hoover's idea, but Stimson thought it "just a proposition from Alice in Wonderland," and he objected vehemently to it.⁷⁴ "He feels," wrote Castle, "that our fleet, intact, is essential in the Pacific to keep Japan in order."⁷⁵ In spite of his opposition the President finally went ahead and, on June 22, announced his comprehensive disarmament plan: "I propose that the arms of the world should be reduced by nearly one-third."⁷⁶

Stimson now set to work on a speech "in defense of the nonrecognition policy" according to his own interpretation of it, as distinct from the Hoover-Castle view. "My speech is intended to support the Kellogg Pact as the fulcrum upon which we will have our issue with Japan," he said to himself. "The speech is intended to rally the European countries around the Pact, so that when the issue with Japan comes up, they will support us intelligently on this central point." When he showed his draft to Hoover, he ran into trouble and, though he explained that he was defending the pact against the assaults of "the intelligentsia," he had to cancel part of what he had written and revise some of the rest.⁷⁷

After arranging for an invitation,⁷⁸ he delivered his censored address on August 8, 1932, before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. In it he proclaimed a "revolution in human thought" as expressed in the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact. War, except for the "right of self-defense," was now "an illegal thing," and neutrality was out of place. The nonrecognition policy of the United States reflected "this new viewpoint and these new covenants." True, the Kellogg Pact had no "sanctions of force," only those of "public opinion," but the American notes of January 7, 1932, would lead eventually to a world-wide "moral disapproval" of aggression and to "consultation between signatories of the Pact."⁷⁹

So Stimson declared, and if he was a bit cryptic, if he did not make clear what the objects of "consultation" might be, the fault was not entirely his

⁷³ Hoover's press statement of June 22, 1932, in Myers, *State Papers*, II, 211-13. Castle commented in his diary, June 23, 1932: "The President's arms statement has been well received in this country and on the whole well received by Governments abroad. . . . What is unfortunate, I think, is that such a move was not made long ago, and in fact the President is being criticized just for this. . . . It is very hard to understand why he allowed himself to be overpersuaded by the Secretary because . . . he told me he had pled with Stimson at least to send it to Geneva for the Delegation to discuss."

⁷⁴ Stimson diary, May 22, 24, 1932.

⁷⁵ Castle diary, May 30, 1932.

⁷⁶ Myers, *State Papers*, II, 212.

⁷⁷ Stimson diary, July 20, 25, 26, 27, 1932.

⁷⁸ Stimson had telephoned Walter Lippmann to ask if the Council on Foreign Relations would like to hear a speech from him. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1932.

⁷⁹ The speech, entitled "The Pact of Paris: Three Years of Development," was published as a special supplement to *Foreign Affairs*, XI (October, 1932).

own. Years afterward, in his memoirs, he admitted that at the time he "did not himself accept" the position that moral sanctions alone were adequate, but "he was bound to . . . acknowledge that the Kellogg Pact would not have had general support if it had included stronger sanctions than that of public opinion."⁸⁰ He might have added that the Kellogg Pact, with such a gloss upon it, would not have had Hoover's support, either. As Castle wrote during a visit at Hoover's summer camp on the Rapidan: "The President told me . . . he was always afraid Stimson would get us into real trouble through his earnest and entirely laudable desire to support the various peace treaties. He said that he was thankful that he had forced Stimson to omit the last three pages of his speech on the Kellogg Pact because in those pages he went the whole limit, expressed our willingness to join in sanctions, etc."⁸¹

Even in its truncated form the speech provoked a violently anti-American reaction in Japan.⁸² When Senator Swanson expressed concern over a possible impasse, Stimson assured him "that we would not go to war unless Japan attacked us, but in that case we would fight like the devil." And Stimson half expected this to happen, as he discussed with a couple of admirals "the absolute necessity of keeping the Navy in such a condition in which it would be airtight against any sudden attack by the Japanese."⁸³ President Hoover feared that his Secretary's attitude invited war. Soon after his defeat for re-election he spoke to Castle about the latter's writing a book on the foreign policy of the administration. He said Stimson would feel that *he* ought to write it. "But," observed Castle, "the President does not want Stimson to make himself the center of the book because, as he said, 'he would have had us in a war with Japan before this if he had had his way.' . . ."⁸⁴

On September 15, 1932, while the Lytton Commission, after months of investigation in the Far East, was preparing its report to the League, the Japanese government announced its recognition of the state of Manchukuo, newly erected in conquered Manchuria. With this *fait accompli* the Japanese presented a challenge both to the American policy of nonrecognition and to the forthcoming Lytton Report. Grimly accepting the challenge, Stimson throughout the fall and the winter of 1932-33 strove to bring about a final

⁸⁰ Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, pp. 259-60.

⁸¹ Castle diary, Aug. 20, 1932.

⁸² In a letter from Tokyo, Aug. 13, 1932, Ambassador Joseph C. Grew informed Stimson of the "outburst in Japan against your speech before the Council on Foreign Relations," and explained that the "violent Japanese press reaction was based . . . on the Foreign Office's inflammatory interpretation of Debuchi's cabled account." *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941* (Washington, 1943), I, 99.

⁸³ Stimson diary, Aug. 10, Sept. 16, 1932.

⁸⁴ Castle diary, Nov. 18, 1932.

statement of the nonrecognition doctrine by the League and the United States, acting together.

He was not deterred by warnings of Japan's increasing hostility toward the United States nor by rumored threats of a rapprochement between Japan and the Soviet Union. From Tokyo, Ambassador Joseph C. Grew cautioned him on September 3: "The Japanese regard the United States as their greatest stumbling block, although they expect the report of the Lytton Commission to be unfavorable. At present talk of friction with Soviet Russia is comparatively quiescent."⁸⁵ And by way of the diplomatic grapevine, information came to the State Department that, as Castle phrased it, "Russia would have no difficulty in recognizing Manchukuo when Japan did," and "this would probably be followed by a non-aggression pact between Japan and the Soviet." According to Castle, "It makes the Secretary itch to recognize Russia just to prevent this—and why should recognition prevent it?"⁸⁶ But the Secretary decided, as he announced in a letter of September 8 to Senator Borah, that if "we recognized Russia in disregard of her very bad reputation respecting international obligations," the rest of the world would look upon our action as "a maneuver to bring forceful pressure upon Japan," and we would "lose the moral standing we had theretofore had in the controversy" with her.⁸⁷ Though Stimson did not shrink from the possibility of an ultimate application of force, he wanted first to make the "moral" issue absolutely clear.

He therefore welcomed the Lytton Report as condemning Japan and justifying his own position. Castle, however, viewed the report as anything but an indictment—"so judicial in temper, so fair to both countries"—and the President and his cabinet, to the disgust of Stimson, "did not take any great interest" in what he considered "probably the greatest event that has happened in foreign relations for a long time." What was worse, the columnist Walter Lippmann argued that the Lytton Report and the nonrecognition doctrine were incompatible, since the report recommended for Manchuria a regime different from either the old one under China or the new one under Japan, while the nonrecognition notes of January 7, 1932, if taken literally, would estop the United States from agreeing to anything except a restoration of the status quo! Indignantly denying this, Stimson went ahead "stiffening up the League on Manchuria" and urging its members to act upon the Lytton Report and nonrecognition together. Some of them, "pretty wishy-

⁸⁵ *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941*, I, 102.

⁸⁶ Castle diary, Sept. 7, 1932.

⁸⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1933* (Washington, 1949-52), II, 778-79.

washy," hoped to make the report a basis for conciliation between China and Japan, but he insisted that the League must "do its duty as to principles before they start conciliation."⁸⁸

His self-appointed task of "stiffening up the League" was complicated and yet facilitated by the results of the presidential election of 1932. Soon after election day he heard a newspaperman describe Roosevelt as "not knowing anything about foreign affairs" and not having any interest in Manchuria.⁸⁹ So, when he got an invitation to a personal conference with Roosevelt, he thought he ought to accept it, but Hoover at first refused his permission. "I told Hoover," he noted, "that I was sufficiently interested in his [Hoover's] policy to want to do anything I could to perpetuate it."⁹⁰ Actually he advanced his own rather than Hoover's policy when, on January 9, 1933, with Hoover's grudging consent, he called upon Roosevelt at Hyde Park. During the five-hour talk Roosevelt "expressed most warmly his approval" of Hoover's disarmament proposal, and Stimson "cautioned him not to be too hasty, pointing out that Japan was not likely to agree to the naval portions of the Hoover plan." Stimson discussed with Roosevelt, more sympathetically than he could do with Hoover, the possible imminence of war with Japan, problems of naval strategy, and the question of Philippine independence. Roosevelt "fully approved of our policy in the Far East" as Stimson described it to him, his "only possible criticism" being that "we did not begin it earlier." He asked whether the American ambassador should not be removed from Tokyo as a gesture, and Stimson replied that it would be fatal for the United States to act alone. The gist of the conversation, as Stimson reproduced it, was this:

I told him of the present ticklish situation at Geneva and the likelihood that it might be advisable for me to make another statement as to this Government's position. I said to him, "I do not wish to ask any commitment from you but I certainly do not wish to make any such statement and then have you immediately afterward come out with a contrary position or statement." He replied, "You need have no fear of that."⁹¹

Thus reassured by the President-elect, Stimson found himself in a stronger position than before for dealing, on the one hand, with the reluctant President and, on the other, with the hesitant League. On January 11, after resisting Stimson's entreaties for weeks, Hoover recommended to Congress the

⁸⁸ Stimson diary, Sept. 20, 27, Oct. 5, Dec. 12, 15, 1932; Castle diary, Oct. 5, 1932.

⁸⁹ Stimson diary, Nov. 11, 1932.

⁹⁰ Jan. 3, 1932. Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 292.

⁹¹ "Memorandum of Conversation with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Monday, January 9, at Hyde Park," Stimson diary.

passage of an arms embargo bill which would have empowered the United States to reinforce League sanctions against Japan. His own message was brief and perfunctory, but he accompanied it with an elaborate memorandum provided (at his request) by Stimson, and Roosevelt came out with an enthusiastic endorsement.⁹² Congress, however, soon stalled the arms embargo bill. Meanwhile, on January 13, Hoover again yielded to Stimson by vetoing a bill for Philippine independence. Hoover favored independence in principle, but Stimson did not, and he contended that the prospect of American withdrawal from the Philippines had invited and brought on Japanese expansion in the Far East.⁹³ On the day of the veto, when Stimson called up Roosevelt to say he was going to inform the British that he did "not expect the American policy towards the Japanese to be changed," Roosevelt "at once responded that that was all right" and that he would back him up. So Stimson went ahead "with much greater confidence" and telephoned a message for Sir John Simon in which he said that, "as a lawyer," he "did not see how they could get away without approving the Lytton Report, which amounted to findings of fact, and then making a decision of the League on these findings, which should include an application of the non-recognition policy directly to Manchoukuo." Roosevelt backed him up with a statement to the press.⁹⁴

Roosevelt's support made Stimson "feel better" than he had felt "for a long time," and when the two men met again, they laughingly agreed that they did "pretty good teamwork." Stimson was troubled, however, by the delicacy of his position as between the incoming and the outgoing President.⁹⁵ After incautiously remarking at a press conference, "I am Roosevelt's acting Secretary of State,"⁹⁶ he confessed to Hoover "that the only thing that upset me was the thought that he felt that he was being humiliated by what I had done with regard to Roosevelt."⁹⁷ To Castle it seemed that the President was placed "in a very embarrassing position since his own defense of American rights is ignored in the press accounts and Roosevelt and Stimson are played up as the heroes."⁹⁸

⁹² Stimson diary, Dec. 14, 1932; Jan. 12, 1933; Myers, *State Papers*, II, 565-66; Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York, 1939), pp. 93-95.

⁹³ Myers, *State Papers*, II, 569-76; *Hoover Memoirs*, II, 359-61; Stimson diary, Jan. 12, 1933. Earlier Stimson had said that "the whole trouble with Japan and her intransigence is based upon her belief that we are going to give up the Philippines and do not wish to remain a Far Eastern power," and Hoover had concluded that "it was no time to give up the Philippines." Stimson diary, Feb. 3, 1932.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 13, 1932.

⁹⁵ Stimson and Bundy, *On Active Service*, p. 293.

⁹⁶ This remark was "off the record." Castle diary, Jan. 24, 1933.

⁹⁷ Stimson diary, Jan. 24, 1933.

⁹⁸ Castle diary, Jan. 24, 1933.

Already Hoover was resuming his effort to establish, for history, his own defense of American rights. He got statements from Secretary of War Hurley and Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur testifying that he had proposed nonrecognition, insisted upon it as against sanctions or other "aggressive action," and started the "discussions and decisions" out of which "came the Hoover doctrine."⁹⁹ While, behind the scenes, he was trying to name and define the policy of nonrecognition, those on the outside assumed, with unconscious irony, that they knew the significance of the policy, whatever its name. The New York *Herald Tribune*, in one issue, reported that Roosevelt was "putting himself behind what is alternatively called the Hoover doctrine or the Stimson doctrine" and, in the next issue, editorialized that in consequence of the "Stimson doctrine" this country was "drifting into a quarrel with Japan to no clear end."¹⁰⁰ And Roosevelt's brain-truster Raymond Moley later supposed that the President-elect had declared his "wholehearted acquiescence in the Hoover-Stimson rejection of the traditional concept of neutrality" and had "endorsed a policy that invited a major war in the Far East."¹⁰¹

During February, as events in Geneva approached their fateful climax, the struggle between President and Secretary over the control of American policy came to its inconclusive denouement. Sir John Simon wanted assurances of close American co-operation with the League, but Stimson had difficulty in satisfying him because of the restraining hand of Hoover, who on February 14 returned with corrections and additions a review of the administration's foreign policies which Stimson had prepared. "I feel the memorandum gives the impression of too strong an alliance with the League," the President said. "I have insisted upon the aloofness of the United States from the League of Nations in that the sanctions of the League are those of force either economic or military, whereas the United States could not and would not enter into force sanctions. . . ."¹⁰²

Stimson scored a partial victory when, on February 24, the League Assembly adopted the Lytton Report with essentially the kind of recommendations he had desired, recommendations which did "not provide for a mere return to the status quo" but did "exclude the maintenance and recognition of the

⁹⁹ Myers, *Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover*, pp. 163-68. In his *Memoirs* (II, 373) Hoover, crediting Bryan as the prime author of the nonrecognition doctrine, said: ". . . Secretaries Hurley and Wilbur wrote me letters of protest, both having been present at Cabinet meetings when I first proposed this idea (originally Bryan's)."

¹⁰⁰ New York *Herald Tribune*, Jan. 17, 18, 1933.

¹⁰¹ Moley, p. 94. See also Myers, *Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover*, p. 229n.

¹⁰² Memorandum by Stimson, Feb. 18, 1933, in *Foreign Relations, 1933*, III, 186-87; Myers, *Foreign Policies of Herbert Hoover*, pp. 251-54.

existing regime in Manchuria.”¹⁰³ The British ambassador, congratulating him, said that at last the nations of the world had done a good job. “And he added,” according to Stimson, “that he thought I had hothoused them a little into ‘more prompt action than they would have taken.’”¹⁰⁴

Stimson’s triumph was, however, to be qualified. On the very day the Assembly acted, he and the President had a final showdown about the meaning of nonrecognition. He had passed on to Hoover a cable from Ambassador Grew in Tokyo about Japan’s probable reaction to the League resolution. “There is no bluff in her attitude,” Grew warned. “The military themselves, and the public through military propaganda are fully prepared to fight rather than to surrender to moral or other pressure from the West.” This ominous message raised in Hoover’s mind “a most serious question,” and he at once sent word to Stimson that “some occasion should be taken to make it clear” that nonrecognition presupposed absolutely no sanctions other than those of public opinion. Furthermore, “The whole doctrine of non-recognition is not alone a method of invoking world opinion but it is equally important in the phase that it avoids precipitant action and allows time to work out proper solutions.” Stimson promptly talked Hoover out of making any such public declaration.¹⁰⁵ But the next day Stimson’s official response to the Assembly’s resolution fell somewhat short of the reply he had promised Sir Eric Drummond, the secretary-general of the League. “As I read your reply to Drummond,” Minister Wilson in Geneva cabled to Stimson, “we have neither ‘associated the Government of the United States’ with the views expressed in the Assembly’s report although we declare ourselves to be in substantial accord therewith nor have we stated that we would ‘concert our action and attitude if necessary.’” And Stimson had to keep on explaining, in answer to Chinese, British, and other inquiries, that the United States did not and could not contemplate an arms embargo for the time being.¹⁰⁶

The American policy of nonrecognition of territorial changes made in violation of treaties, though originated by Bryan in 1915, may properly be called the Hoover-Stimson doctrine in the form in which it developed from 1931 to 1933, since it was then suggested by Hoover and formulated by Stimson. In the mind of the President, however, nonrecognition remained a final

¹⁰³ League of Nations, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement no. 112 (Geneva, 1933), p. 75.

¹⁰⁴ Memorandum by Stimson, Feb. 23, 1933, in *Foreign Relations*, 1933, III, 197.

¹⁰⁵ Grew to Stimson, Feb. 23, 1933; Hoover to Stimson, Feb. 24, 1933, and penciled notation by Stimson, in *Foreign Relations*, 1933, III, 195, 209–10.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 197–98, 204–205, 210–11, 214; *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931–1941*, I, 114–16.

and sufficient measure, a substitute for economic pressure or military force, a formula looking toward conciliation and peace and relying on the moral force of public opinion for its effect. That was the Hoover doctrine. In the thinking of the Secretary of State, nonrecognition became not an alternative but a preliminary to economic and military sanctions, a way of drawing sharp the issue between the United States (along with the League of Nations) and Japan, a means of laying down the ideological grounds for war if, as he expected, war eventually should come. That was the Stimson doctrine—or, perhaps, the Stimson-Roosevelt doctrine. That was the view which ultimately prevailed, and so it is quite fitting that the policy of nonrecognition should, as it generally does today, bear Stimson's name.¹⁰⁷

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¹⁰⁷ For an account of the widespread acceptance and application of the Stimson doctrine after 1933, see Robert Langer, *Seizure of Territory: The Stimson Doctrine and Related Principles in Legal Theory and Diplomatic Practice* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 123–290.

Scholarly Privileges: Their Roman Origins and Medieval Expression

PEARL KIBRE

THE conferring of academic degrees to the accompaniment of the phrase, "with all the rights, privileges, and immunities, thereunto pertaining," has become so commonplace a proceeding in American colleges and universities that the significance of the accompanying phrase is lost to view. Otherwise this bestowal of peculiar rights, privileges, and immunities upon university graduates, who would thus be set apart from the ordinary run of the population, would be denounced as an anachronism in an age of equalitarian ideals. However, the continued use of these terms, now so obsolete in their practical application, illustrates cogently the persistent force of tradition, even in a world of rapid physical and material change. Such verbal symbols of a by-gone era preserve at least the memory of a past in which such rights, privileges, and immunities were the usual concomitants of the scholarly status. They may also serve to whet our curiosity as to their nature and history.

The history of the rise, development, and decline of these scholarly rights and privileges is such a long and varied one and is so intimately bound up with the social and political events of the centuries which saw their development and decline that an adequate historical account of them would require a much more extensive consideration than is here possible. Nevertheless, in anticipation of the fuller treatment which the history of these rights and privileges merits, current interest in them would appear to justify a brief summary of their Roman origins and of some instances of their expression in Europe in the Middle Ages, the time of their fullest development.¹

In origin, scholarly privileges may be traced back to specific provisions in the body of Roman law. The concept that scholars, particularly those who were masters of liberal arts—grammar and rhetoric—together with physicians who were concerned with the healing of the sick, merited special privileges and immunities at the hands of the Roman state was already well es-

¹ This paper was read before the Faculty Humanities Club of Hunter College on April 27, 1953. It is an outgrowth of work on a longer study now in preparation, "The Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, of Scholars and Universities in the Middle Ages." Much of the material for the study was gathered in European libraries during the year 1950-51 under a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship.

established in imperial legislation before the second century.² Under the rescripts of the emperors Vespasian and Hadrian, who were said to have followed the traditions of their predecessors, professors of liberal arts, grammarians, orators, medical men, and philosophers, were exempted from compulsory civic duties and were granted immunity from the obligation to quarter soldiers and to render military service. Also by decree of Vespasian, those who taught rhetoric or oratory were to receive a public salary with their privileges and immunities.³ Confirmation of these privileges with some additions by succeeding emperors followed. Emperor Commodus, son of the philosopher emperor Marcus Aurelius, added provisions for the exemption of scholars from the regulations pertaining to the purchase of wheat, wine, and oil; from the requirements that they accord hospitality to foreign guests; from the obligation to serve as jurors or legates; and from the necessity of serving unwillingly in the militia, or of performing any other compulsory public service.⁴

Constantine the Great reiterated and extended these privileges and exemptions. He accorded medical men, particularly those who were esteemed as chief among the physicians, also the grammarians and other professors of literature and doctors of law, together with their wives and children and the property that they possessed in the municipalities, immunity from all civic and public obligations and levies. Even in the provinces they were not to be required to entertain foreign guests nor to quarter soldiers in their homes. They were to be protected against being summoned unduly into court and from suffering any indignities or personal injury, since anyone who molested a professor would be obliged to pay a heavy fine. And the fine exacted by the magistrates would be handed over to the professor as payment for the injury he had received. Constantine the Great further ordered that salaries be paid regularly to the physicians and professors by the state and municipalities,

² *Corpus iuris civilis*, editio stereotypa quinta, I: *Institutiones*, ed. Paul Krueger; *Digesta*, ed. Theodor Mommsen; II: *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. Paul Krueger; III: *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll (Berlin, 1888-95). References to this edition will be made under the abbreviations: *Instit.*; *Digest*; *Codex*; and *Novellae*. For the rescripts cited above, see *Codex*, X, 46 (45) and X, 47 (46). Poets were not to enjoy any of the immunities noted; this was also true of professors of liberal studies and of physicians, until the law of the decurions. *Codex*, X, 53 (52), 3, 4, 5. Even grammarians and rhetoricians, if they did not prove useful to their students, were not to be considered eligible for immunities. *Codex*, X, 53 (52), 2.

³ *Digest*, L, IV, 18 (cf. *Codex*, X, 41); and *Digest*, L, V, 8, 4 (cf. *Codex*, X, 45-47). Those who taught children primary letters were not to have immunity from civic duties. Papinianus (*Digest*, L, V, 8, 3), in the first book of responses, stated that he who had exemption from public duties might rightly refuse to contribute to the collections of money arbitrarily imposed by the magistrates, but he ought not to refuse to pay those imposed under the law. See also Hermann Conring, *De antiquitatibus academicis dissertationes septem* (Göttingen, 1739), pp. 115-16.

⁴ *Instit.*, XXVII, 1, "De Excusationibus," 6, 8; Conring, p. 116.

as had Vespasian two centuries earlier.⁵ These privileges were further confirmed by other emperors in the fourth and early fifth century, and particularly by Honorius and Theodosius II, so that, as Constantine declared, scholars might the more easily devote themselves to liberal studies and to the memorable arts.⁶

In granting these privileges and immunities some efforts were also made from the first century on to limit the number of persons to whom they could apply. Emperor Antoninus asserted that in small cities only eleven might enjoy the special privileges, that is, five physicians, three rhetoricians, and three grammarians, while in larger cities the number might be increased to fifteen, seven physicians, four rhetoricians, and four grammarians; and in the largest cities to twenty, ten physicians, five rhetoricians, and five grammarians. Prohibitions were also drawn up against exceeding these numbers.⁷ Other emperors, particularly Theodosius and Valentinian, in the fifth century, further defined the classes of persons entitled to enjoy the special grants of privileges.⁸

The practice of confirming these customary grants of privileges was continued in the sixth century by Justinian, according to the rescripts in the *Corpus iuris civilis*. The earlier practice of paying salaries to grammarians and orators as well as to physicians and lawyers was also renewed so that "they might continue to devote themselves to their profession and to teaching" and that they might thus guarantee "that youths learned in the liberal arts would flourish in public affairs."⁹ Such considerations came henceforth to be regarded as an integral part of the Roman tradition. They were reasserted and emphasized whenever and wherever Roman traditions were stressed. They had already received sympathetic support in the early sixth century from the Ostrogothic leaders who, under the tutelage of their Roman teachers in Italy, encouraged the principle of keeping alive and active "the wisdom and grace of Roman learning." Theodoric and his immediate successors, his daughter, Amalasuntha, and her son, Athalaric, under the influence of their Roman secretary, Cassiodorus, had shown particular favor to those engaged in the study and teaching of liberal arts.¹⁰ Athalaric through

⁵ *Codex*, X, 53 (52), par. 6 (a. 333); Conring, p. 119.

⁶ *Codex*, X, 53 (52), par. 6, 7 (a. 362), 8 (a. 369), 11 (a. 414); see also *Digest*, L, V, 8; L, VI, 7 (6).

⁷ *Instit.*, XXVII, 1, 6, "ex epistula Antonini quae data est ad commune Asiae, sed pertinet ad orbem universum."

⁸ *Codex*, XII, 15 (a. 425); XII, 40 (41), 8 (a. 427).

⁹ *Codex*, X, 47 (46), "De decretis decurionum"; *Novellae*, "Appendix Constitutionum dispersarum," VII, 22 (a. 554); *Digest*, L, XIII, 4. See also Conring, pp. 33-34.

¹⁰ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, Liber I, Epistola 45 (a. 507); III, Epistola 33 (a. 510-11), in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctorum antiquissimorum*, XII, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin,

the pen of Cassiodorus had expressed his concern for the lot of professors whom he had heard were not receiving adequate rewards for their labors. "We consider it an impious deed," he asserted, "to take away anything from the teachers of our youths, since they should rather be encouraged in their magnificent work by an increase of emoluments." He urged that adequate provisions be made to see that professors were paid at regular intervals so that they might not lack the means of subsistence nor be entirely dependent upon others. "For if to stage actors for amusing the people, we give generously of our wealth, how much the more generously and promptly ought we not reward those who are responsible for our honorable conduct and for developing in our palace natural talents and eloquence." The Roman senate was asked to make adequate provisions to meet forthwith the needs of the professors and doctors so that there should be no more complaining from them. For, it was insisted, they ought not to be occupied with two cares at once—how to live tolerably and how to teach—but rather they should be able to transfer the entire force of their talents to the cultivation of the liberal arts.¹¹

To this Roman tradition Charlemagne in A.D. 800 and his immediate successors adhered when, in accordance with the theory of the translation of the empire, they revived the Roman imperial title in the west and declared themselves to be the successors of the Roman Caesars, Augustus, Constantine, and Justinian. The renewed emphasis that this revival of the empire placed upon studies of Roman institutions and culture was reflected also in the desire of these Teutonic emperors to do honor to those who cultivated these studies.¹² Charlemagne's biographer and secretary, Einhard, particularly stressed his master's great veneration for those who taught liberal arts and emphasized the emperor's interest in having them highly honored.¹³

It would be vain, however, to conclude that such respect for those who studied and taught the liberal arts had any necessary or widespread acceptance among the greater number of the Teutonic warriors from the early sixth century onward. According to Procopius, court historian for Justinian at

1894), 39-40, 96-97; and see particularly Eleanor S. Duckett, *The Gateway to the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938), pp. 8 ff.

¹¹ Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, Liber IX, Epistola 21 (a. 533), MGH, XII, 286-87; Duckett, p. 89.

¹² Conring, pp. 72-73, 85; M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900* (New York, 1931), pp. 149 ff.; H. Koeppler, "Frederick Barbarossa and the Schools of Bologna: Some Remarks on the 'Authentica Habita,'" *English Historical Review*, LIV (1939), 578 ff.

¹³ Einhard, "Vita Karoli Imperatoris," par. 25, in *Omnia quae exstant opera*, Latin text with French translation, ed. and tr. A. Teulet, Société de l'histoire de France, Publications, XIX (Paris, 1840), I, 80-81.

Constantinople, the mother of Athalaric in her desire to foster in her son a love of learning had had to fight against bitter opposition from Gothic leaders who insisted that "letters . . . are far removed from manliness," and that "the teaching of old men results for the most part in a cowardly and submissive spirit." They urged rather that her son "take his training in arms."¹⁴ Even in Constantinople, despite Justinian's rescripts confirming the privileges granted by his predecessors to teachers and doctors, the lot of such persons may well have deteriorated in the sixth century. Such at least is the testimony of the fault-finding and highly suspect *Secret History* attributed to Procopius. In that work Justinian is charged with having "caused physicians and teachers of free-born children to be in want of the necessities of life. For the allowances of free maintenance which former Emperors had decreed should be given to men of these professions from the public funds he cancelled entirely. . . . And thereafter neither physicians nor teachers were held in any esteem."¹⁵

However, even without these reminders of the inadequacy of decrees and constitutions to portray fully the contemporary scene, it would appear patently clear that Roman imperial rescripts, or the pronouncements of those following in the Roman tradition, could have guaranteed little safety or security to scholars or teachers in the years when imperial power was not only too weak to enforce its authority in the west but was physically or militarily incapable of repelling the invader or of providing the most rudimentary protection against both internal or external foes. The lot of the scholar, professor or student, untrained and ill equipped to protect himself, would doubtless have been well nigh untenable if it had not been for the close association, from an early date, of lay scholars with ecclesiastics. The Church Fathers and succeeding theologians might differ as to the amount and content of pagan or secular learning that was necessary for the faithful follower of Christian doctrine, but they were generally agreed that a thorough grounding in the basic liberal arts was necessary for comprehending the Scriptures. The moral force of the church as a protective agency was therefore extended to include lay scholars as well as ecclesiastics. Both henceforth found a haven in religious or monastic communities and enjoyed the clerical rights, privileges, and immunities which were eventually incorporated into the body of canon law. These, in part, coincided with the traditional rights, privileges, and immunities set forth in the body of Roman civil law, particularly in

¹⁴ *Procopius*, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library (7 vols., London, 1914-40), III: *History of the Wars, Books V and VI* (1919), book V, ii, 11 ff.; Duckett, pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ *Procopius*, VI: *Anecdota or Secret History* (1935), xxvi, 2-8.

regard to freedom from military levies and from civic obligations and duties. They included, in addition, the peculiarly clerical privileges of immunity from the jurisdiction of the local civil and feudal courts. As clerics, scholars, both lay and ecclesiastic, were to be judged and disciplined solely by their ecclesiastical superiors and by the ecclesiastical courts.¹⁶

Such were the scholarly privileges in theory. In practice, however, the extent to which professors and students actually enjoyed such rights and privileges was dependent upon the co-operation of the local magistrates of the specific locality, town, or city in which the scholars resided. The diversities and extreme localism reflected in feudal society and in the narrowly exclusive limitations of citizenship in the Middle Ages were especially detrimental to those who traveled about. Persons who left the territories of their feudal lords also left behind them their legal protectors, and residents of one city who traveled to another enjoyed no civic rights in the latter and had no legal protection there.¹⁷ The position of foreigners or nonresidents was thus a very difficult and precarious one. And the degree to which they would be tolerated or would be permitted to remain secure in their persons and property was dependent upon whether there had been concluded in their behalf a private pact or agreement. Such a private pact pertaining to particular individuals constituted a *privilegium*, defined by Gratian in the *Decretum* as a private law in contrast to a general law, such as the universal or provincial statute of a council or a papal decretal.¹⁸ The *privilegium*, since it was a specific legal grant, was always written down, and the document in which it was written was itself called a *privilegium*. It had the force of law only when it could be produced to prove the contention of those who claimed redress under its provisions. Thus the most carefully guarded treasures of the university were the *privilegia* which secured to the scholars and the university their rights and privileges.¹⁹

The need for such private pacts or privileges in the case of traveling scholars was particularly acute. Not only did they share with other travelers the dangers and insecurity of the times wherein even the papal legates and

¹⁶ *Corpus iuris Canonici*, ed. Emil Ludwig Richter and Emil Albert Friedberg (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1879-81), Pt. I: *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*; Pt. II: *Decretalium collectiones*. On learning and the clergy, see Pt. I, *Distinctio*, XXXVI-XXXVIII. Pt. II, *Decretal. Gregor*, IX, Lib. V, tit. XXXIII; *Sexti Decretal.*, Lib. V, tit. VII, relate to clerical privilege.

¹⁷ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, new ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (London, 1936), I, 150-51.

¹⁸ *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, I, col. 4-5.

¹⁹ Herbert E. Salter, ed., *The Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, nos. 70, 73 (1920-21), I, p. viii. On August 7, 1327, the official of the bishop of Paris denounced those who kept or hid the charters containing the privileges of the university. *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Heinrich S. Denifle and E. Chatelain (Paris, 1889-97), II, no. 866, pp. 303-304.

the emperor himself were not safe but the students and masters had far less opportunity or means for retaliation and defense than did the others.²⁰ It was therefore of inestimable value that traveling scholars, from the twelfth century on, were able to secure the conclusion in their behalf of such pacts and agreements, or grants of privileges, from the chief centralizing agencies in western Europe, namely, the emperors, popes, and the rising monarchs.

The first important medieval grant of privileges intended primarily for lay students and professors of canon and civil law was the famous *authentica Habita* granted by Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at the Diet of Roncaglia in November, 1158.²¹ The diet itself had nothing to do with scholars since it was a diet or council of the kingdom of Lombardy which had been called to settle the disputes between Frederick and the Lombard cities. However, in the course of the discussion of more serious political problems, the emperor made the pronouncement relating to scholars. He did this probably with the advice and counsel of the group of Bolognese professors of law who were present as his advisers and who were of course familiar with the earlier Roman imperial rescripts favoring professors and doctors. In the *Habita* Frederick granted imperial protection and safe conduct to all persons who traveled or resided in imperial lands for purposes of study both on the way to and during their stay at the place of learning. Although the emperor gave these guarantees of protection or safe conduct probably in connection with the edict for the maintenance of the public peace which he also issued at this same Roncaglian diet, he singled out the scholars as particularly worthy of protection and favor "since the whole world is illuminated by their learning." He did so possibly also as a reward to the Bolognese teachers of Roman law who had supported the imperial claims.²² In the *Habita* the emperor took occasion to bespeak his compassion for "those who exile themselves through love of learning, those who prefer to wear themselves out in poverty rather

²⁰ Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876), pp. 56-57. For injuries inflicted on a papal legate even as late as 1347, see *Chart. univ. Paris.*, II, no. 1145, pp. 607-608; and for the emperor and his ambassadors, Koeppler, in *English Historical Review*, LIV (1939), 595, n. 2. Rashdall points out, as illustration of the fact "that the grievances against which the foreign student wanted protection were not merely sentimental . . . the frequent occurrence of a privilege exempting scholars from torture except in the presence of and with the sanction of the Rectors." Rashdall, I, 150, n. 2.

²¹ Koeppler, pp. 577-607, has here newly edited the text of the *authentica Habita* (at pp. 606-607), from a Vatican manuscript (Palat. 761).

²² Anna T. Sheedy, *Bartolus on Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1942), pp. 129 ff.; Henry Malden, *On the Origin of Universities and Academical Degrees* (London, 1835), pp. 48 ff. One of the most prominent of the Bolognese professors of law, Irnerius, had played an important part in the support of Henry V. The Bolognese professors in close attendance upon Frederick Barbarossa were Bulgar, Martin Gosia, and Hugo and Iacopo della Porta of Ravenna. As Koeppler points out (pp. 586 ff.), these famous doctors were acting as Frederick's assessors in hearing complaints and in settling suits.

than to enjoy riches, and those who expose their lives to every peril, so that, defenseless, they must often suffer bodily injury from the vilest of men."²³

In addition to providing for imperial protection and safe travel, the *Habita* contained the assertion that scholars might not be injured nor taken in reprisals for the debts of the province or city to which they belonged. Anyone who violated this provision was to pay fourfold damages and was to suffer infamy and loss of any public position that he might hold.²⁴ The practice of reprisals to which the students were singularly exposed was commonly employed in the Middle Ages as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon a town to force its citizens to meet their individual obligations in another town. This was accomplished by the process of holding responsible all the citizens of a town or locality from which a merchant or other individual had failed to pay a debt or had refused to answer to charges for a crime that he was alleged to have committed. That is, as Pollock and Maitland pointed out, the law of reprisals enforced the principle of collective responsibility, or rather of "collective liability," under which "the group was held responsible for the debts of each of its members and vice versa." Exemptions from the application of the law of reprisals were also given to clerics and were frequently included in charters drawn up for the protection of traveling merchants.²⁵

The *authentica Habita* provided further that scholars who committed offenses against local laws had a right to decline the ordinary jurisdiction of the town and to choose instead as judge either their own teachers or the bishop of the diocese. Similarly, where a scholar was the plaintiff, the case must be tried before either of these judges, according to the scholar's choice, and at the place of the schools. Anyone who tried to bring suit against a scholar before another judge would lose his case regardless of the excellence of his claim. This privilege of the choice of their judges by the students was probably derived from Justinian, as both Rashdall and Koeppler pointed out.²⁶ It was also in conformity with the prevailing customs of Lombardy, where, as a result of the intermixture of peoples, each with their own national and tribal laws, individuals were customarily permitted to declare under what law they wished to live and be judged, whether Roman, Lombard, Frankish, or Salic. The option given the student to choose between his master

²³ Koeppler, p. 607.

²⁴ Koeppler called attention to the exemption from reprisals as one of the most important privileges granted in the *Habita* (pp. 595-600, 600-604, text, p. 607); Sheedy, pp. 139 ff.

²⁵ Koeppler, pp. 595-97, 600; Peter Rebuff, *Privilegia universitatum, collegiorum, bibliopolarum, et omnium demum qui studiosis adiumento sunt* (Frankfort, 1583), pp. 230-31. See also Bartolus, "Tractatus Represaliarum," *Consilia* (Lugduni, 1546), fol. 121 recto; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1923), I, 682-83.

²⁶ Rashdall, I, 144 and note, 145; Koeppler, pp. 604-605; and see also Sheedy, pp. 139 ff.

or professor and the bishop was the choice between civil or ecclesiastical law. At first the masters exercised jurisdiction even in criminal matters. But later they surrendered this jurisdiction to the city.²⁷

The basic scholarly privileges thus enumerated in the *authentica Habita*, namely, of protection and safe conduct, exemption from reprisals, and the right of exclusive judicial jurisdiction, came in succeeding years to be considered models for future grants of privileges. Other lay potentates throughout Europe sought, by provisions similar to those of the *Habita*, to secure for students and masters in their realms privileges and immunities theoretically assigned to them in Roman civil and canon law.

In France, where the ecclesiastical character of the early schools might have been construed as a sufficient guarantee that the masters and scholars would enjoy such privileges and immunities without further provisions, it was nevertheless necessary for popes and monarchs to issue specific decrees to ensure the untrammelled enjoyment of these privileges by the scholars despite their clerical status. In the second half of the twelfth century, Pope Alexander III ordered the townspeople of Reims to permit scholars, according to their accustomed liberty, to be under the jurisdiction of their own masters in cases either of a civil or ecclesiastical nature; and toward the close of the same century, Pope Celestine III specifically asserted that "clerics" in Paris were to be under the exclusive jurisdiction either of the bishop of Paris or of the abbot of Ste. Geneviève in all judicial cases and that all such cases would be decided according to canon law. Pope Celestine III had also ruled that clerics who were accused of such crimes as theft, homicide, perjury, and so on must be brought first before an ecclesiastical judge.²⁸ These papal pronouncements in favor of clerics were expressly endorsed, for the Paris scholars, by King Philip Augustus, in 1200, in his charter of liberties for the university, in the assertion that all suits involving scholars, even criminal cases, must first come before the bishop of Paris.²⁹

The occasion for the king's grant of privileges was the riot of 1200, the first major "town and gown" disturbance in Paris. Like so many others of its kind, this affair had begun in a tavern brawl and had ended with the death

²⁷ Rashdall, I, 151; Malden, pp. 50-51; Conring, *De antiq. acad.*, pp. 144-50. For the situation in Bologna, see Sheedy, pp. 140 ff.

²⁸ Rashdall, I, 290-91, and notes; *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, Introd., no. 5 (A.D. 1170-72); and the Bull of Celestine III (A.D. 1191-98), *ibid.*, Introd., no. 15; Abbé Feret, "Les origines de l'Université de Paris et son organisation au XII^e et XIII^e siècles," *Revue des questions historiques*, LII (1892), 355-57; Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France: Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e*, Facultés Catholiques de Lille, Mémoires et travaux, fasc. 50 (Lille, 1940), V, 266.

²⁹ César E. Du Boulay, *Recueil des privileges de l'université de Paris* (Paris, 1674), p. 5; *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 1, pp. 59-61; and see below, n. 33.

of a number of students. The university masters appealed in a body to the king for redress of their grievances and the king responded to the university petition by his grant of the charter of liberties. At the same time he had provided that the provost of Paris together with several of his accomplices be severely punished for their part in the riot, and that the university masters and scholars be given assurances of royal protection and of their immunity from arrest by order of the municipal magistrates, except in the commission of the most heinous crimes. To this end the provost was required to take an oath to the university promising that neither he nor his justices would lay their hands on a student or master for any offense whatsoever; that they would not place a student in prison unless he had just committed such a serious crime that he had to be taken into custody at once; and that they would take care, even in such instances, not to strike the student unless he resisted arrest. The king threatened to exact due satisfaction if he learned that a student had suffered any injuries when he had not resisted arrest. The arresting officer was also in such cases to hand over the student at once to the ecclesiastical judge who alone had the right to keep him in custody.³⁰

The bourgeoisie of the city of Paris were also charged with the obligation of coming to the scholars' aid if they were ill treated. They were required to swear that they would respect the rights and privileges of the scholars, that they would secure the arrest of anyone who molested a scholar, and that they would give information unsolicited against anyone whom they might see mistreating a scholar. The provost of Paris was further required to take an oath, in the presence of the scholars, that he would keep in good faith all the provisions above mentioned.³¹ From this oath taken by the provost to the university, there arose at a later time the practice of having civil cases in which the defendant was accused of violating any privileges granted by the king to the scholars tried in the court over which the provost presided, namely, the Chatelet. However, during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, all ordinary criminal or ecclesiastical prosecutions against a scholar, or civil cases in which he was involved either as plaintiff or defendant, were customarily brought before the bishop's court or to the official who presided over the bishop's court.³²

In 1210, on behalf of the lay authorities, there was a more specific defini-

³⁰ Roger de Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Chronicles and Memorials (London, 1871), IV, 120-21; *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 1, pp. 59-61; no. 12, pp. 72-73.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² For the jurisdiction of the bishop's court, see Paul Fournier, *Les officialités au moyen âge: Etude sur l'organisation, la compétence, et la procédure des tribunaux ecclésiastiques ordinaires en France, de 1180 à 1328* (Paris, 1880).

tion of what legitimate methods of arrest and detention could be employed at Paris against criminous clerics or scholars. This was deemed necessary since the lay authorities were all too frequently incurring ecclesiastical condemnation and punishment because they laid hostile hands on a cleric. Under the new provisions, arrests of clerics or of scholars were not to be made nor were they to be imprisoned unless they were found to be engaging in such major crimes as homicide, adultery, or assault and battery with sticks, stones, or other weapons. If they should be seized while engaged in such nefarious deeds they were still to be turned over immediately to the ecclesiastical judge. However, if it was late at night, they might be held until the morning, but the place of detention must be seemly and not one in which there were thieves and other criminals. In the morning, they had to be turned over without delay to their ecclesiastical judge, the bishop of Paris or his official. For the further protection of clerics and scholars, it was ordered by the king that trial by battle or by ordeal should be refused to prisoners charged with assault on a scholar.³³

Despite the king's favor and the oaths taken by the bourgeoisie and the provost to uphold the privileges of the university, clashes between town and gown were frequent. The occasion for the serious conflict in 1229 was the summary execution of a scholar by the provost and the royal justices. In protest the university masters agreed to leave Paris. They journeyed to Reims, Orléans, England, Italy, Spain, and other parts of Europe.³⁴ A number went to the University of Toulouse in response to that university's invitation and promise of advantages and freedom not found elsewhere. In Toulouse, it was asserted, the scholars could read the books of Aristotle's natural philosophy which had been banned at Paris, and there they could enjoy scholastic liberty since they need not yield the reins of government to anyone; nor need they fear the malice of the people nor the tyranny of the prince. The count of Toulouse would provide sufficient security for them, would provide their salaries, and would provide for their servants coming and going to and from Toulouse.³⁵

The English king, Henry III, also took this occasion to extend a cordial invitation to the masters and scholars. He urged them to come to England and declared his compassion for the trials and tribulations which they had suffered under the iniquitous law of Paris. For the reverence of God and

³³ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 13, pp. 72-73. For further provisions of the method of arrest, see *ibid.*, I, no. 197, A.D. 1251, pp. 222-24.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, no. 62, p. 118; Mathew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, no. 57 (London, 1876), III, 166-69.

³⁵ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 72, pp. 129-31.

the Holy Church he promised to try to win back for them their required liberty. He asserted that if it was pleasing to them to come to his kingdom for the purpose of study, he would assign them cities, towns, villages, or whatever they wished for their purpose. "In every way," the king declared, "we will make it possible for you to enjoy the liberty and tranquillity which pleases God and which ought to be yours to enjoy fully."³⁶

Finally the French king, Louis IX, intervened on behalf of the university scholars. He reaffirmed the privileges granted by Philip Augustus and repeated the provision that the provost and his justices were not to put their hands on any scholar nor were they to take him into custody unless he was engaged in an act requiring his immediate arrest.³⁷ This settlement, too, did not put an end to continued clashes between the provost of the town and the students. However, in all such clashes the university, until the fifteenth century, was able to win further concessions and privileges.

Similarly in Oxford, scholars or clerks and their retainers were under the jurisdiction of the chancellor's court, to which they might also summon their adversaries. As early as 1214, following the hanging of two clerics by the town authorities, the award of the papal legate ending the dispute provided that a clerk arrested by a townsman had at once to be surrendered to "the demand of 'the Bishop of Lincoln or the Archdeacon of the place or his Official, or the Chancellor, or whomsoever the Bishop of Lincoln shall depute to this office.'"³⁸

Although the exercise of exceptional jurisdiction by the university associations differed somewhat in the various university centers, there was general agreement that scholars might not be cited to appear in any secular or ecclesiastical courts outside the place of the schools and that the scholar might summon his adversary, even from a distant province,³⁹ for trial or judgment to the place where the scholar was residing. The declared purpose of this privilege was to permit scholars to apply themselves to their studies in a calm state of mind without the embarrassment and inquietude attendant upon the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, no. 64, p. 119.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, no. 66, pp. 120-22; Du Boulay, p. 5. For the French text of the oath to be taken by the provost, see *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 67.

³⁸ Rashdall, III, 33 ff., 37; Salter, ed., *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 3; and for the increase of the chancellor's power, see also Herbert E. Salter, ed., *Registrum cancellarii Oxoniensis, 1434-1469*, Oxford Historical Society, nos. 93, 94 (1932), I, xx ff.

³⁹ At a later time charges against the abuse of this privilege were so frequent that they eventually led to a delimitation of the distances from which the scholars could summon their debtors and those bringing suit against them before their own judges, or conservators. Rebuff (*Privilegia universitatum*, pp. 241-42) reported that at Paris the distance was set at four *dietae* or about twenty miles and that Pope Innocent VIII reduced this in Spain to two *dietae* or ten miles in 1486. On the other hand in Montpellier, Rebuff asserted, the students could summon their debtors and others from a distance of five *dietae* or about twenty-five miles.

obligation of appearing at or carrying their suits to tribunals far off from the place of their actual residence. For, it was asserted, the obligation to appear in distant courts would consume time that should be employed in the study of letters as well as money which might better be utilized for living expenses or for the purchase of necessary books. The need for this privilege was forcefully set forth in a letter written by Stephen, bishop of Tournai, in the year 1174. The letter was addressed to William, archbishop of Sens and then minister of state under Louis VII, on behalf of a poor scholar who was being sued in regard to an inheritance outside of Paris. The scholar found himself faced with the necessity of either abandoning his property or of leaving his studies. He had therefore appealed for advice to the archbishop. And it was the archbishop's opinion that since the scholar was absenting himself from the court proceedings because of his studies, his failure to appear should not prejudice his case. However, the judge who was trying the suit, without consideration for the reasons given for the student's absence, pronounced against him. It was on this point that Stephen of Tournai made a special plea. He described the judge's decision, that absence because of studying did not constitute a just cause, as contrary to the common law (*juri communi contrarium*), and asserted that the consequences of such a decision would be extremely disastrous since young persons would no longer dare to leave their native countries to try to advance in liberal arts at distant schools lest they lose their property in their absence.⁴⁰

In France, too, as already noted, by papal intervention on behalf of the masters and students in the late twelfth century, the local clergy were restricted in their right to excommunicate the scholars, at the same time that there was a reaffirmation of the jurisdiction of the masters over their students. Thus between 1170 and 1172 Pope Alexander III had ordered the presbyter of "Burgo S. Remigius" to be punished severely for his violence against the scholars and for his promulgation of a sentence of excommunication against them. Despite the fact that the presbyter had undoubtedly been goaded to this action by the students and masters who had mocked and ridiculed him while he was leading the choristers, perhaps in an unseemly fashion, it was he alone who was taken to task. The papal decree forbade anyone to lay violent hands on the scholars, or to promulgate an ecclesiastical sentence against them, except in the presence of their masters, under whose jurisdiction they remained as long as they wished.⁴¹ This restriction of the promulga-

⁴⁰ Du Boulay, pp. 4-5, letter no. 23; J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (1855), CCXI, col. 321-22.

⁴¹ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 5, p. 5; and the other references in n. 28 above.

tion of a general excommunication of the Paris scholars except by express permission of the Holy See was reaffirmed by Pope Honorius III in 1219, when he took the scholars of the University of Paris under his wing as his special charges, and again in 1222.⁴² It was reiterated by Pope Gregory IX on May 10, 1231, in his concession to the masters and scholars of Paris, that for seven years they might be free from the promulgation against them of a sentence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, unless specially licensed by the Holy See.⁴³

In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries commentators on the *authentica Habita* interpreted and expanded Frederick's grant of protection to cover a number of basic privileges and exemptions not specifically mentioned in the *Habita* itself. These, as Koeppler reports from Odofredus, the thirteenth-century Bolognese professor of law, comprised exemptions from "tolls, duties, and customs both for the students and their attendants." Odofredus asserted that since the emperor granted a general protection to students they need not contribute to the upkeep of a police force. Hence they "need not pay tolls for their persons," since "tolls are levied for a police force." Furthermore according to Odofredus as reported by Koeppler, "no customs dues should be exacted for the books of the students, because such dues are levied on goods carried to be sold, and no decent student would ever dream of selling his textbooks."⁴⁴ Similar views were echoed by another thirteenth-century glossator, Accursius, who stated that it was not customary for scholars to pay the usual travelers tolls.⁴⁵

These views were also endorsed by the noted Bartolus in the fourteenth century. Bartolus held that the emperor had intended that students were to go to the place of the schools and were to remain there without hindrance and without the burdens of taxes. He asserted that this meant too that the students should be free from the various personal services usually required of residents of the towns so that they could freely devote themselves to their studies.⁴⁶

In the other university centers also, the monarchs not only reaffirmed the grants of privileges of their predecessors but in most cases they increased their scope. Thus Philip IV of France in 1295 and 1297 reiterated and en-

⁴² *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 30, pp. 87-88; no. 45, pp. 102-104; and cf. Rashdall, I, 311, n. 3; Feret, p. 358.

⁴³ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 95, p. 147.

⁴⁴ Koeppler, p. 594, nn. 1, 2.

⁴⁵ Cited by Conring, pp. 177, 374. However, Conring points out, the assertion of this privilege of the immunity of scholars from the tolls and tribute (cf. Codex, IV, 61, *De vectigalibus*) did not originate until the end of the thirteenth century.

⁴⁶ Sheedy, p. 134 and notes, citing Bartolus, *Opera omnia* (11 vols., Venice, 1590-1602), VII, 122r; VIII, TL 23r.

larged upon the privileges granted by previous monarchs. He issued specific provisions for the exemption and immunity of scholars from the levies imposed for the needs of the war with the count of Flanders and from any tolls or tribute levied on goods and chattels belonging to students and masters in the kingdom of France. He asserted that they would be immune from all exactions for the support of the king's court, or of the members of the royal household, and from all customs taxes or personal obligations.⁴⁷ He also ordered his magistrates in 1307 and 1313 to permit the scholars to bring in their foreign moneys.⁴⁸ In his address to all his justices, in 1297, the king had made it clear that during the war with Flanders the masters and scholars studying at Paris and Orléans were not to be molested in any way and that they were to be under the special guardianship of the king. They were, in every instance, to be allowed to go and come freely and to carry their possessions unhampered throughout the kingdom, regardless of the nation of their origin. Moreover, the scholars were to be exempted from doing the watch and from serving on guard duty at the gates of the city except in time of great peril or when the enemy should be ten leagues away from the city.⁴⁹

In words somewhat reminiscent of those of Frederick Barbarossa, Philip IV, in March, 1313, defended his action in behalf of the students and masters:

We believe it right to have great concern for the hardships, the exertions, the sleepless nights, the drudgery, the deprivations, the tribulations and the perils which the scholars undergo to seek the precious pearl of knowledge, and to consider how they have left their friends, their kinsmen, and their native lands, how they have abandoned worldly goods and family fortunes to come from distant parts to drink of the waters flowing from the fountain of life. . . .⁵⁰

Similarly in Oxford, where the scholars were under royal protection as well as papal guardianship according to the ordinances of 1214, King Henry III before he left for his lands across the sea in April, 1242, felt it necessary to delegate the royal protection of the scholars to the archbishop of York, William "de Cantilupo," and William "de Eboraco."⁵¹ The king was also concerned for the welfare of the university scholars during the disturbances that accompanied the baronial conflict in 1264. He therefore asked the university to resume its lectures under specific royal pledges that all its immunities, customs, liberties, and privileges would be guaranteed and that the uni-

⁴⁷ Du Boulay, pp. 71 ff.; Paris, Archives Nationales, K 183, no. 5; *Chart. univ. Paris.*, II, no. 589, p. 65; no. 601, p. 75; no. 701, pp. 159-60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, no. 660, p. 122, Aug. 13, 1307; no. 702, pp. 160-61, Apr. 23, 1313.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, no. 606, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, no. 701, pp. 159-60.

⁵¹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, A.D. 1232-1247* (London, 1906), III, 283 (26 Hen. III).

versity scholars' belongings and lodgings would be reserved for them safely.⁵² The following year, 1265, the king exempted the students of Oxford from serving on juries and assizes as long as they were studying and were wearing the clerical habit.⁵³ John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, in July of 1279, also guaranteed to the scholars ecclesiastical protection for themselves, their belongings, and their privileges.⁵⁴

Provisions for the protection and safety of scholars also came at a later time to be interpreted in most university centers as including provisions for their housing and comfort and for the removing of obstacles to their application to intellectual endeavor. The need for housing was at all times acute. Hence in all universities, papal and royal decrees endeavored to meet this need, by specific enactments on behalf of the scholars. At Bologna, in the twelfth century, Pope Clement III prohibited rich students from taking away lodgings from poor students. He threatened with excommunication anyone who took another's lodgings before the expiration of his term of residence.⁵⁵ Innocent IV, at Lyons, in the second year of his pontificate, 1245, also prohibited under pain of excommunication the taking of the lodging of another by any master or scholar of Paris without the consent of the one living there.⁵⁶

In most universities the scholars were provided with some protection against grasping landlords through the provision that rents of halls or lodgings were to be appraised and fixed at a fair price determined by four appraisers, two of them masters elected by the university and two chosen by the townsmen. Provisions for this means of protecting students and masters from the rapacity of the landlords were guaranteed by both papal and royal decrees. Neither were able, however, to eradicate the difficulties encountered and had to be continuously repeated. At Oxford the legatine ordinance of 1214 which specifically mentioned this practice indicated that it was already in use before that date.⁵⁷ Yet in 1231 a royal writ of Henry III pointed out that scholars coming from various parts of the kingdom and from lands across the sea, though they brought honor to the entire kingdom, were obliged to complain

⁵² Salter, ed., *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 24-26.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 26, Feb. 2, 1265.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 35-36, July 31, 1279.

⁵⁵ Ludovico Vittorio Savioli, ed., *Annali bolognesi* (3 vols. in 6, Bassano, 1784-95), III, 166, no. 296; Mauro Sarti and Mauro Fattorini, *De claris Archigymnasii Bononensis professoribus* (Bologna, 1888-96), I, xxxiii-iv; Malden, pp. 32 ff. For the fourteenth-century application in Bologna of this problem of housing, see Sheedy, pp. 135 ff.

⁵⁶ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 143, pp. 181-82; and for the opinion of the jurists, see Sheedy, pp. 135-36.

⁵⁷ Rashdall, III, 35, 92; Salter, ed., *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 2-3, 8; and see also p. 16.

loudly about the hospices and lodgings in the city. The king asserted that he feared that if these complaints were not heeded the scholars would leave the city, an eventuality which it was his hope to avert.⁵⁸ In Oxford, too, the principle had come to prevail that when a scholar had once hired lodgings he could not be disturbed in his occupation of them as long as he continued to pay his rent. But despite these regulations, the prices of lodgings continued to rise. Eventually the pressure upon poor or impoverished students aroused charitable benefactors to come to the rescue in a more effectual way. Philanthropic ecclesiastics and men of wealth established religious houses or colleges where poor scholars could enjoy the benefits of free lodgings. Later free board was added and in many houses small stipends or bursaries.⁵⁹

In Paris, too, housing continued to be a serious problem. The university masters from time to time called attention to the difficulties encountered by scholars in finding a place to live in the city. They referred to the frequent charges of avarice and greed brought against the landlords by the scholars. They revealed the dismal fact that complete success had not been achieved in curbing the unreasonable demands of the landlords by the device of a fixed price for lodgings set by appraisers chosen from the university and from the city.⁶⁰

The problem of housing was also tackled by Pope Gregory IX. In 1231 he confirmed the university faculties' right to assess and evaluate the rents to be charged for lodgings as well as their right to interdict lodgings where the landlords failed to abide by the university regulations.⁶¹ But even these strictures appeared to have had little effect on the obdurate landlords. The pope therefore appealed to King Louis IX to reinforce the power to fix the rents in accordance with the appraisal figures.⁶² However, the combined efforts of pope and king were apparently no more successful in curbing the rapacious landlords than those of the pope alone. It was therefore necessary, before an additional fourteen years had elapsed, for the university itself to devise and apply more stringent penalties to secure enforcement of the provisions on housing. The new regulations, drawn up in full university congregation at the Mathurins in February of 1245, provided that, if the proprietor of a dwelling refused to accede to the fixed price, his dwelling would be interdicted for five years, that is, he would be forbidden to rent his house to scholars

⁵⁸ *Letters of Henry III*, Rolls Series, I, 397-98; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, A.D. 1227-1231 (London, 1902), III, 586-87 (15 Hen. III).

⁵⁹ Malden, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁰ Rashdall, I, 309; Jourdain, "La taxe des logements dans l'université de Paris," *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge* (Paris, 1888).

⁶¹ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, I, no. 79, p. 137.

⁶² *Ibid.*, no. 82, pp. 140-41; and see also nos. 80, 81, 88, 92, 93, 94, 429.

during that period. And if any master or student did take up residence there during that time, he would be obliged to leave at once upon receiving notice from the university rector or from his proctor. Failure to comply would be punishable by deprivation of all university privileges.⁶³

That the difficulties in this area continued, however, to plague the university masters and scholars is clear from the tenor of new measures provided by Louis IX in 1270. In that year the king commandeered the assistance of the provost of Paris and ordered him to make certain that the students and masters were not being required to pay the prices asked for lodgings where the rents had not been based on the appraisal figures.⁶⁴ Nevertheless despite these valiant efforts at control, it would appear, at Paris as at Oxford, alleviation of the housing problem was achieved only by the establishment of religious houses and hostels or colleges for poor scholars.

As further interpreted by the jurists, the provisions in the *authentica Habita* for protection and safety were held to imply a guarantee that the scholar would be protected from intrusion or invasion of his dwelling. An attack upon the home of the scholar was deemed a sacrilege. The provisions were also understood by some to assure the scholar of compensation for any thefts or losses that he might suffer during his stay at the university city.⁶⁵ Peter Rebuff held in particular that the scholars' books were protected against seizure. He asserted that even if the students or masters failed to pay their rent, as happened perhaps all too frequently, their landlord was strictly forbidden to take their books in payment for the rooms. For if he did so he would be upsetting or interrupting the study of letters, "from which proceed such great utility." However, if the scholar died, then the landlord could keep the books to pay for the funeral and other expenses. Rebuff added that a good scholar will find as much delight in his books as he will in a wife. He held, moreover, that because of the usefulness of books all writers of books are privileged. In this connection, Rebuff reported that he had seen persons condemned to hang in the year 1525 at Toulouse because they had burned books belonging to scholars.⁶⁶

An even broader interpretation of the concept of protection was the claim that it implied necessary guarantees for the scholar's comfort and the removal of any obstacles to his application to study. Thus the scholar must be assured freedom from interruption by disturbing noises. According to Bartolus, the scholar's right to expel a smith or anyone living in his house who should

⁶³ *Ibid.*, no. 136, pp. 177-78.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 430, p. 484.

⁶⁵ Sheedy, pp. 136-37, n. 36.

⁶⁶ Rebuff, *Privilegia universitatum*, pp. 48-49; and cf. Sheedy, pp. 147-48.

disturb him in his studies was one of the peculiar privileges of a scholar. He could even expel a scholar living next door to him if that person made too much noise.⁶⁷ Peter Rebuff reported that this was the opinion too of John de Platea, who related that he had expelled a certain weaver living near the Collège du Vergier at Montpellier because the weaver sang in such a loud voice that he interfered with the students' study. The weaver was summoned to appear before the judge and was ordered to stop singing so loudly or to leave the premises. Since the weaver insisted that he was so accustomed to sing that he could not stop, he was obliged to leave the neighborhood. This move was justified, according to John de Platea, Peter Rebuff reported, because of the public utility which abides in scholars.⁶⁸ There were, however, some jurists who objected to the expulsion of a workman by a student and they contended that student privileges could not be so interpreted as to work an injustice on anyone. Hence the student could not injure the workman and prevent his continuing with his craft.⁶⁹ Rebuff asserted, moreover, that in his own time, the early sixteenth century, conditions were far different from those in the fourteenth century, since in many universities, as he had seen, contemporary judges protected the base persons and treated servingmen better than students.⁷⁰

At Oxford, King Edward I, in 1305, prohibited "tournaments, jousts, tiltings, or other games with spears," near the city because they might disturb the scholars. He ordered further that anyone who disobeyed this regulation should be arrested and imprisoned.⁷¹

Even more striking as an amplification of the principle of protection and safety for scholars were the efforts to protect them from various annoyances and from fraudulent, unsanitary, and unhealthy practices. In 1305, Edward I, in reply to a complaint of the university of Oxford, issued a writ that the paving of the streets in the city of Oxford should be repaired. The university had reported that the pavements were so torn up and broken that the students and masters were seriously impeded from walking about through the city, also that they were repelled by the reeking substances which were placed and collected in the streets and byways. At times, the report continued, the air became so foul that the masters and scholars and others traversing those parts were prevented by the nauseating stench from enjoying the benefits of

⁶⁷ *Repertorium Lauranum super trium librorum codicis commentariis divini Bartholi Saxoferratensis* (Venice, 1516), I, fol. 30v, col. 2; Bartolus, *Ad undecimum lib. codicis* (Venice, 1592), VIII, fol. 33v; Sheedy, pp. 137-38; Rebuff, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.

⁶⁹ Sheedy, pp. 137-38.

⁷⁰ See the reference in n. 68 above.

⁷¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I, 1302-1307*, pp. 355, 361.

the fresh air. Furthermore, it was pointed out, decaying matter of this kind was a distinct menace to the health of those who were obliged to come and go in this area. The king therefore ordered that each holder of property repair the street in front of his holding. He also ordered that the lanes be cleared of all ill-smelling wastes and that the sows be removed from the streets and quarter entirely.⁷² Apparently this writ was not obeyed, since Edward II in 1311, and Edward III in 1331 and 1339, were obliged to issue others repeating the earlier provisions.⁷³

In 1305 too, Edward I had issued a writ prohibiting the melting of tallow in the streets since this caused the air to become so tainted that a great many of the masters and scholars of the university were frequently made ill.⁷⁴ The king had also in 1305 responded to another university complaint by issuing a writ ordering the brewers to use pure water obtained from clean places. The university masters and students had complained that the brewers of ale in the city used water near sewers and other unclean places, so that the ale sold from such areas was detrimental and dangerous to their health. This writ was followed by another ordering the sellers of ale and wine to discontinue the use of fraudulent measures and requiring them to submit all their measures for examination either by the chancellor of the university or at least in his presence.⁷⁵ Although all these matters had been dealt with earlier, in 1293, they had to be dealt with not only in 1305 but again and again on other occasions.⁷⁶ In the reign of Edward II the mayor and bailiffs were requested to see that wine that was for sale was submitted for examination to the chancellor and that any that was found to be putrid should be confiscated. The king asserted that he had been informed that many persons, both scholars and others, were often made very ill by spoiled wine and that the resulting infirmities were a distinct danger to life as well as a retarding influence on the application to study.⁷⁷

In 1310 Edward II also issued a writ to the effect that the butchers should not slaughter animals at Carfax and in the public squares in the city. The university had complained that butchers were killing animals and throwing their remains there and that the fetid odors rising from this decaying matter had caused a great many students and masters to fall seriously ill and even

⁷² Herbert E. Salter, ed., *Munimenta civitatis Oxonie*, Oxford Historical Society, no. 71 (1920), pp. 10-11 (33 Ed. I).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 18 (5 Ed. II); Salter, ed., *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 120 (5 Ed. III); I, 136-38 (13 Ed. III).

⁷⁴ Salter, ed., *Munimenta civitatis Oxonie*, p. 13.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-94 (21 Ed. I), pp. 10-13, and *passim*.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

on occasion to die from the effects. Moreover, a great many other students refused to come to Oxford for fear of suffering serious physical impairment. The king ordered therefore that such dangers must be eliminated and some remedy for the situation must be devised. The order had to be repeated in 1339 and again in 1355. In these writs the king insisted that the slaughtering of large animals within the city must be stopped and he ordered that the streets must be cleaned immediately and kept clean. The king assigned to the chancellor of the university, the mayor of the city of Oxford, and the heads of Merton College the task of supervising such cleaning as well as the expediting of punishment to those who did not comply with the royal commands. The order when repeated in 1355 pointed out that to Oxford came men of noble lineage who would be repelled by the lack of cleanliness and pure air.⁷⁸

Similar measures against unclean streets and the slaughtering of animals in the vicinity of the schools were taken by the French king in the city of Paris at the request of the university. Shortly after the return of King John of France from his imprisonment in England during the Hundred Years' War, the university asked the king to turn his attention to a serious problem that had been assailing the nostrils of the teaching masters for some time, namely, the close proximity to the schools of the slaughterhouses located on the Via Ste. Geneviève. In August of 1363, the king agreed to grant the university's request that he secure the enforcement of sanitary regulations upon these slaughterhouses, which, as the university masters pointed out, were polluting the streets night and day with the blood and remains of the beasts slaughtered. The king therefore issued an order prohibiting the throwing of wastes in front of houses and requiring the daily removal of all refuse deposited outside the walls and water courses of the city.⁷⁹ Three years later when the royal edict was reinforced by the Parlement of Paris, on June 23, 1366, and again on September 7 of the same year, the slaughterhouses were apparently still flourishing. The parliamentary decrees forbade the slaughtering of animals within the walls of the city of Paris and imposed fines for any infractions of the law. The university masters in 1366 had been obliged to repeat their complaint that the butchers, contrary to the royal ordinance, were causing untold distress to the residents of the colleges and to individuals liv-

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14 (4 Ed. II); Salter, ed., *Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 136-37 (13 Ed. III); *Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1916), V, 145-46.

⁷⁹ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, III, no. 1283, pp. 106-107; Arch. Nat., JJ 95, fol. lv, no. 3; Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1724), III, 92; *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* (22 vols., Paris, 1723-1849), III, 639.

ing on the Via Ste. Geneviève and the Place Maubert. They pointed out that whereas formerly at the time of the royal ordinance of 1363, there were only eight butchers or slaughterhouses, there were now thirty-four or thereabouts, and each day their number was being augmented. And that in spite of royal ordinances and the fines assessed against them they were continuing to throw wastes into the streets so that day and night the air through the entire quarter and in the squares about was rendered so ill smelling and pestilential that it was dangerous to health.⁸⁰

Although the butchers endeavored to defend themselves by pointing out that it would be highly inconvenient to take the animals outside the city for slaughter and cleaning in preparation for their sale as the parliamentary decrees prescribed, their plea went unheeded. A new decree required them to do all the actual slaughtering and preparation of the animals outside the city of Paris in a place suitable for the purpose. They were no longer to obstruct or cause to be obstructed the sewers and waterways with such matter under penalty of paying a fine of sixty Parisian *solidi* for every infraction. However, if they violated the provisions requiring them to slaughter the animals outside the walls of the city they would be fined ten Parisian pounds and would be subject to removal from their occupations.⁸¹

To what extent these decrees were effective it is difficult to determine, particularly since the second half of the fourteenth century was to see the Hundred Years' War renewed by Charles V of France, and new and more pressing matters occupied the king, parlement, and the university.

As has already been suggested, the continued growth of the rights, privileges, and immunities of the students and masters both in English and French universities was seemingly at the expense of the local residents. Against these privileges and exemptions resentment grew and from time to time erupted in the succession of town and gown riots that plagued the various university centers. Frequent instances might be cited for both Oxford and Paris, but perhaps one of the most striking illustrations of the hostility of the populace was that of the bourgeoisie of Nevers on the Loire toward the masters and scholars who had migrated from Orléans.⁸² These scholars had been placed under the special protection of the king, and the populace had been warned in the name of the king against molesting the students and masters in their persons or belongings under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation of their possessions. Despite this royal admonition and special order, several of

⁸⁰ *Chart. univ. Paris.*, III, no. 1326, pp. 153-55.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, III, no. 1327, p. 157.

⁸² For the migration of the students of Orléans to Nevers, see Rashdall, II, 148, and notes.

the bourgeoisie, in 1318, stormed the houses occupied by the professors and the scholars, as well as the dwellings of the bedels and the church of St. Martin.

Following a number of acts of vandalism, on March 18, 1319 (1318), an order was issued to the bailiff of Bourges that he inquire into the matter and submit a report on his findings to the Parlement of Paris. In the report made to that court, it was asserted that the residents of Nevers had unlawfully assembled against the masters and scholars. They had besieged the lodgings of a student named Guillaume de Beaujeu; they had successfully prevented the professors or doctors from giving their lectures, the bedels from exercising their functions, and the canons of St. Martin from ringing the customary bell to summon the students to the lectures. They had invaded the school of master Jacques "de Miseri," where they had broken the benches and the desk of the professor. They had then taken and carried the professor's desk about the town, shouting as they went: "Who wishes forty days of indulgence should follow us!" They had then thrown the desk into the Loire with the words, "Go to the devil whence you came to Orléans."⁸³

The commission named by the court to make the inquiry reported further that the city of Nevers although well populated did not form a corporation, nor a commune, for it had neither seal, nor bell, nor common properties. It had not even a common treasury. Hence the court must pronounce individual condemnations and list the condemned persons and the fines to be levied against them. The fines were then to go to each of the doctors or professors and the syndic of the schools who had suffered at the hands of the populace.⁸⁴

There were numerous other instances of wounding and even of the murder of students and masters according to the records of the Parlement of Paris. There were also frequent occasions when quarrels arose regarding who was to exercise jurisdiction in particular cases. But perhaps the foregoing illustrations in specific circumstances of the application of the privileges and immunities in the Middle Ages will suffice to illustrate their general tenor and expression. That these "rights, privileges, and immunities" which early found formal expression in Roman civil and canon law and later reappeared in specific royal and ecclesiastical enactments were largely concerned with the external relations of students and professors as well as with the external conditions of intellectual endeavor is clear. The "rights, privileges, and immunities" of the medieval scholar had little to do with the intellectual process

⁸³ *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, ed. Edgard Boutaric, 1st series (Paris, 1863-67), II, 276-77 (Criminel III, fol. 162v.).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 322 (June 21, 1320), 329 (Sept. 16, 1320).

itself or with what is today called "academic freedom." In that sphere, which is outside the scope of this paper, the medieval universities as autonomous or semiautonomous associations exercised a powerful supervision, not only over their own members but also over others outside their associations.

To anyone who has concerned himself with the documentary remains of the Middle Ages, it is clear that these centuries, in which every prince and every corporate association considered himself or itself the guardian of inherent rights, cannot be characterized as eras of uniformity or of general conformity to prescribed formulas of behavior and action. And nowhere is this lack of compliance with general theories and principles better illustrated than in the matter of the application of the scholarly "rights, privileges, and immunities" so clearly assigned to scholars and clerics in civil and canon law. In every instance it was necessary to make specific grants of privileges to meet specific needs or, as in the case of the English kings, to issue specific writs in answer to specific complaints to secure the observance of particular privileges for the university masters and scholars. Even in such cases the extent to which the privileges granted would be observed in practice was dependent upon the ability of the monarch to make his power felt. And where it was possible for the royal authority to prevail, popular resentment and resistance, however suppressed, were clearly present.

By the close of the fifteenth century, the universities as autonomous associations were in most countries to fall a prey to the successful onward march of the national monarchs, especially on the continent of Europe. Professors and students were to lose their rights as members of autonomous or semiautonomous university associations, but they were to retain their privileged position in the light of the monarch's favor. And particularly in France,⁸⁵ as the king's protected minions, they were to retain their privileges and immunities until these were swept away with other remnants of the Old Regime at the close of the eighteenth century. Only in England were the universities to retain some semblance of their earlier autonomy and vested rights. From England these rights, privileges, and immunities which in the Middle Ages distinguished the university associations as well as their professors and scholars were no doubt carried to America. And here they still survive in words which we can all read in our carefully preserved diplomas or hear on each commencement evening with the conferring of the academic degrees. Shades or symbols of the past they may be. But to the historian they bind the past and the present and evoke a host of images of intrepid scholars

⁸⁵ Cf. Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), pp. 112 ff.

who recognized no political, economic, or physical barriers and who braved every obstacle to seek out new fields of intellectual endeavor or new paths to worldly fame. The historical grants of rights, privileges, and immunities by emperors, popes, monarchs, or municipal magistrates provide unassailable testimony and evidence of the presence of foreign scholars in places far from their native soil. And in this they are of great significance. But they in no way lead us to conclude that such grants of privileges or immunities alone provided the inspiration, the urge, and the strength that led such scholars on. The grants of privileges followed rather than preceded the appearance of those traveling scholars whose adventuresome, boisterous, and unruly antics strike a familiar chord and appeal because they are so manifestly human. The source of the impetus that urged them on can best be found perhaps in what Professor Rostovtzeff once so aptly described, in a conference of the American Historical Association, as "an effervescence of the human spirit."

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Meaning of "Historicism"

DWIGHT E. LEE and ROBERT N. BECK

OVER the past twenty years, the word "historicism" appears to have been definitely established in the vocabulary of history and philosophy. Since its meaning has varied greatly and has often been obscure, an attempt at some clarification seems in order. Admittedly the task is a difficult one because use of the word is itself evidence of a continuing controversy over the theoretical and philosophical aspects of historiography.

It is undoubtedly still too early to reach a consensus about the concepts for which the word may be used, but at least an attempt to answer basic questions concerning the word and its usage may be not only clarifying but also helpful in understanding the theoretic backgrounds which have necessitated the label "historicism." Among such questions are these: In what senses has historicism been defined or used? What are the theories or concepts or conditions which seem to require a new label? What at this time may be regarded as a "proper" use of the word?¹

I

1. *Explanation or Evaluation by Means of History.*

In philosophy historicism has come to be defined as follows:

The view that the history of anything is a sufficient explanation of it, that the values of anything can be accounted for through the discovery of its origins, that the nature of anything is entirely comprehended in its development. . . . The doctrine which discounts the fallaciousness of the historical fallacy.²

¹ It should be noted that "historism" is closely related to "historicism" but seems to be disappearing in English usage. For example, in the 1918 edition of James Mark Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (2d ed., New York), "historism" appeared, but not "historicism"; while in the *Dictionary of Philosophy*, edited by Dagobert D. Runes (New York, 1942), the reverse is the case. Historism is a normal translation into English of the German *Historismus*, but historicism has apparently come to be preferred, even for a translation of the German, either because it seems a more natural English form, coming more easily to the tongue, or because its Italian equivalent, *storicismo*, has become well known through its use by Benedetto Croce. Since a full explanation of historicism involves both German and Italian backgrounds, historism will be discussed as historicism on the assumption that the latter word has won out in English usage, at least for the time being.

² Runes, p. 127. André Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie* (Paris, 1951), p. 416, gives two meanings for "Historisme," the first of which is substantially the same as Runes's above.

The last sentence requires some explanation, because it directly contradicts one meaning of historicism, apparently common but difficult to document, in philosophical usage—that it is a name for, or instance of, the “genetic fallacy.” The import of the word in this sense is generally disparaging. If, however, the following definition of the genetic fallacy is accepted, “the misapplication of the genetic method resulting in the depreciatory appraisal of the product of an historical or evolutionary process because of its lowly origin,”³ then the use of historicism to mean the genetic fallacy is erroneous. Thus the two meanings in the philosophical definition above are consistent with one another.

Closely related to the philosophical meaning is Morris R. Cohen’s usage of historicism when he wrote of it as “a faith that history is the main road to wisdom in human affairs.”⁴ Friedrich Engel-Janosi has given a slightly different emphasis in his definition:

That attitude which was centered around history, which saw most of the spheres of intellectual life as permeated by history, which made history the *magistra*, if not of active life, at least, to a great extent, of theoretical life, will be understood here under the term “historicism.”⁵

But all three definitions agree that historicism has to do with explanation or evaluation by means of history and with the belief that historical knowledge is in some sense distinctively important in human affairs.

Since this genetic concept has a history of its own, historicism has been used as the designation of an age. Guido de Ruggiero, writing of post-Kantian idealism, asserts that the assumption “of a genetic point of view in the study of the problems of the mind marked the beginning of historicism and the evaluation of reality as a historical process of spiritual formation.”⁶ German intellectual historians, especially, have emphasized that historicism was a reaction to eighteenth-century rationalism; and Friedrich Meinecke has called it “the greatest spiritual revolution which Occidental thought has undergone.”⁷ What he had in mind was the substitution of the concepts of development and individuality for the belief of the natural-rights school in the stability of human nature and reason. As Beard and Vagts have put it,

³ Runes, p. 116.

⁴ *The Meaning of Human History* (La Salle, Ill., 1947), p. 16. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵ *The Growth of German Historicism*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Series 62, no. 2 (1944), p. 13. It is interesting to note that in this work *Historismus* is translated as “historicism” instead of “historism”—an example of how the former is displacing the latter in English usage.

⁶ “Idealism,” *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VII (1932), 569. Cf. Vladimir G. Simkovich, “Approaches to History, III,” *Political Science Quarterly*, XLVII (September, 1932), 410.

⁷ As quoted by Charles A. Beard and Alfred Vagts, “Currents of Thought in Historiography,” *AHR*, XLII (April, 1937), 466.

historicism as "le sens de la difference des temps" is contrasted with the conception prevalent in the Age of Enlightenment, which regarded time as ever the same in its essence to the degree of interchangeableness and accepted the idea of recurrence in events and periods."⁸ Thus in Europe there has been widespread recognition of an age of historicism, but in Germany a "school" has also been developed which has tried to define the concept in great detail.

2. *Historicization of Life.*

It is a most hazardous undertaking to attempt a short characterization of German historicism (*Historismus*), for as Walther Hofer, who has made the most recent detailed study of it and particularly of Meinecke's concept of it, remarks, historicism is a "struggle-concept [*Kampfbegriff*], attacked, asserted, discarded, befogged in the tumult of countless discussions and polemics of the recent past and present."⁹ He has found three groups of meanings, not all of which have been reflected in English usage: (a) the vocation of history itself, especially history for history's sake and withdrawal from the present into the past; (b) a bundle of contradictory characterizations, including, first, the exaggerated belief that the study of history can recreate actuality or the opposite view that historical knowledge is impossible, and, second, the doctrine of purely empirical research to the exclusion of metaphysics or the opposite view that history must be approached through philosophy and is antipositivistic; and (c) a historical concept whose character is "gradually being determined."¹⁰ Pre-eminent in this task of definition are Troeltsch and Meinecke, each of whom passed through more than one phase but each of whom was especially stimulated to study historicism by the German catastrophe in the First World War, which appeared to them to involve a crisis in German thought. Thus historicism is for them a special form of, or an approach to, intellectual history (*Geistesgeschichte*). Although it is not a philosophy of history in the sense of Benedetto Croce's *storicismo*, it may be called an interpretation of both history and life, a *Weltanschauung*.

Meinecke traced the rise of historicism to those English, French, and German writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who opposed the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 466. Cf. Ernst Cassirer, *The Problem of Knowledge* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 170, 217-18.

⁹ *Geschichtschreibung und Weltanschauung* (Munich, 1950), p. 322. Hofer attempts to describe *Historismus* within the framework of German intellectual history and to trace its evolution from Dilthey, principally through Troeltsch, to Meinecke. He attempts a detailed analysis in his section on "Begriff und Wesen des Historismus," pp. 326-411, upon which we have relied heavily. A shorter treatment but similar approach is that of Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte vom deutschen Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich and Salzburg, 1951), II, 245-309, in his chapter 20 on "Der neue Idealismus: Geistesgeschichte und Höhe des Historismus." He gives much more attention to Dilthey than does Hofer.

¹⁰ Hofer, pp. 328-31.

rationalism based upon Descartes; he found the most complete formulation of its principles in Goethe and the highest achievement in Ranke.¹¹ Meinecke declared, "Goethe's requirement of ascending from the individual to the general, and of seeking out the latter in the concrete stamp of the individual became a basic necessity of historicism."¹² He further explained, "The individuality concept and individual development are . . . the two polar, mutually related [*zusammengehörenden*], basic concepts of the historical treatment that is called historicism in the proper sense, and that was consummated in Ranke's achievement."¹³ The concept of individuality embraces not only persons but all historical creations including the state; development is the historical process within which individuality manifests itself and is to be explained not by "laws" (and hence is not predictable) but by innate tendencies, "spiritual spontaneity," and special or external factors.¹⁴ Though the historian goes to the past for the solution of contemporary problems, he is himself a part of the historical stream of development. Moreover, he must study the past not only rationally but also intuitively and sympathetically; in Hofer's words, the historian "must creatively reflect [*schaffend spiegeln*] the piece of the general stream of development [*Werdestrom*] that he wants to mirror."¹⁵ Thus, problems of relativism and irrationalism arise which both Troeltsch and Meinecke attempted to solve but which nevertheless remained as troublesome elements in historicist theory. The important thing for Meinecke was that the historian utilizes his knowledge of present life in all its aspects in order to understand past life; or, as Hofer puts it, "The principles of life [*Lebensprinzipien*] of the subject [the historian] become principles of understanding [*Verstehensprinzipien*] of the object [the past]; the patterns of life become the categories of history."¹⁶ In summary, historicism for Meinecke is a way of looking at life and the world—a *Weltanschauung*—but it is not a deterministic philosophy of history. Life is too fluid and too concrete for that. In short, his historicism is historicizing of life and enlivening of history.

¹¹ See his *Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich, 1936); and brief summaries in English by Beard and Vagts, "Currents," pp. 460–83; and by Eugene N. Anderson, "Meinecke's *Ideengeschichte* and the Crisis in Historical Thinking," *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson* (Chicago, 1938), pp. 361–96. Cf. Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History* (New York, 1950), pp. 219–20, for a good brief description of "the historical school." Both the Beard and Vagts and the Anderson articles use "historism" instead of "historicism."

¹² Quoted from *Entstehung*, by Hofer, p. 131.

¹³ Quoted, with the ellipsis indicated, from *Entstehung*, p. 642, by Hofer, p. 367. Incidentally, it should be noted that Meinecke's evaluation of Ranke is quite different from the American interpretation of Ranke's "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*."

¹⁴ Hofer, p. 494.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 408. Cf. Cassirer, pp. 218–20, for a discussion of Herder's historicism which emphasized "feeling" instead of action.

¹⁶ Hofer, p. 411.

3. Historicization of Philosophy.

In turning from the German school to the Italian of Benedetto Croce, the emphasis is shifted from history to philosophy. Croce called his "philosophy of the spirit" *storicismo assoluto*—absolute historicism. In his *History as the Story of Liberty*, Part II, entitled "Historicism and History," begins: "'Historicism' (the science of history), scientifically speaking, is the affirmation that life and reality are history and history alone."¹⁷ Like Meinecke he emphasizes the historicist reaction to the "abstract rationalism" of the Enlightenment, but unlike Meinecke he finds its greatest modern exponents were Vico and Hegel.¹⁸ For him, historicism is a logical category and thus present in any age, but he agrees that the nineteenth century may properly be named for it.¹⁹ Since he believes that man can know only what he has created, true knowledge is historical. Therefore man does not go to the past to solve problems of the present, his very thinking about present problems is of necessity historical, although this *historical* knowledge does not determine his action. "Historicism is creation of appropriate actions, thoughts, or poems, by moving from present awareness of the past; historical culture is the acquired habit or power of so thinking and doing; historical education, the formation of this habit."²⁰ Croce's historicism can never admit an irrational element in life (as Meinecke's does) because it arises "only inside the logical mind, just as the genesis of a poem lies in the poetical imagination."²¹ Historicism does not "discredit and overthrow" the natural sciences, which are useful as means of measuring and classifying reality, but provides the only means of *knowing* reality. Historicism is the heir of humanism, not of a narrowly philological kind, but one "which renewed philosophy and all the moral disciplines."²² It is, in short, an idealistic philosophy of thought and action.²³

Closely related to Croce's thinking is that of R. G. Collingwood, who does not go so far as to say that all reality is history but does make a clear-cut distinction between the realms of "nature" and of the "mind."²⁴ Thus, all history is "the history of thought,"²⁵ and "of everything other than thought, there can be no history."²⁶ He goes on to say:

Historical knowledge, then, has for its proper object thought: not things thought about, but the act of thinking itself. This principle has served us to distinguish history from natural science on the one hand, as the study of a given or objective

¹⁷ (New York, 1941), p. 65.

¹⁸ Cf. Hofer, pp. 390-93.

¹⁹ Croce, pp. 68 ff. Croce deals specifically here with Meinecke's views and refutes those with which he disagrees.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 318-19.

²³ The Italian title of *History as the Story of Liberty* is *Storia come pensiero e come azione*.

²⁴ R. G. Collingwood, *Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), p. 302.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

world distinct from the act of thinking it, and on the other from psychology as the study of the immediate experience, sensation, and feeling, which, though the activity of the mind, is not the activity of thinking.²⁷

Explaining that historical thinking is always reflection about purposive activity, only those activities of the past that have a conscious goal, i.e., are expressions of purposive thought, are fields of historiography: political, economic, moral, artistic, scientific, religious, and philosophical activities.²⁸ Since the fundamental purpose of history is self-knowledge, this is to be obtained by studying problems, not periods. This study, however, does not yield bases for prediction, nor does it find "cause" in the natural scientist's sense; it can only discover past thought. Collingwood's historicism seeks to historicize philosophy and to emancipate history from science.²⁹

4. *Historical Relationism and Relativism.*

Another sense in which historicism has been used is well defined by Louis Gottschalk:

That belief, which would deny the validity of absolute principles in history, is sometimes called *historical relationism* or *historicism*. It insists upon the relation of ideas to historical circumstances (including other ideas); it maintains that ideas are only "reflex functions of the sociological conditions under which they arose."³⁰

Obviously this definition has reference to Karl Mannheim's theory of historical knowledge according to which "all historical knowledge is relational knowledge."³¹ While Mannheim himself discriminates between relationism and relativism,³² not all writers do so. Therefore the two terms are often used as synonymous, or else relationism is regarded as a special case of relativism.³³ Maurice Mandelbaum, for example, does not seem to make a distinction between "relationism" and "relativism," fitting Mannheim into a relativist

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-14.

²⁹ For a critical discussion of his ideas by a philosopher, see Leo Strauss, "On Collingwood's Philosophy of History," *Review of Metaphysics*, V (June, 1952), 559-86; and for a plea to accept his viewpoint, see R. W. Harris, "Collingwood's *Idea of History*," *History*, XXXVII (February, 1952), 1-7. Though Collingwood and Harris do not use the term "historicism," Strauss does (p. 586). For another neo-idealistic concept of historicism, see Jose Ortega y Gasset, "History as a System," *Toward a Philosophy of History* (New York, 1941), pp. 165-233, especially p. 217.

³⁰ Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," *Social Science Research Bulletin*, no. 53 (1945), p. 25. Gottschalk gives as a reference Karl Mannheim's article on Ernst Troeltsch, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XV (1934), 106-107, as well as other works.

³¹ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London and New York, 1936), pp. 70-71.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³³ Cf. Gottschalk, *Understanding History*, pp. 110-11. Here he says that "that belief, which would deny the validity of absolute principles or of a single system of truthful interpretation in history, is sometimes called *objective relativism* or *historical relationism*. It is a by-product of the nineteenth-century development called *historicism*."

framework while recognizing that in some aspects his theory differs from that of other relativists.³⁴ Relativist doctrine, Mandelbaum asserts, "can best be understood as being one particular manifestation of that which has been called historicism (Historismus)."³⁵ He explains that the form of historicism which is concerned with the "fact of change" is best spoken of as "the historicity of values" and is often "identified with historicism as such,"³⁶ but that there is also a prevalent form which may be called "that of knowledge." Commenting upon the "view which holds that the actual structure and continuity of the historical process is falsely represented in every historical work," Mandelbaum finds that this "can only be defended on the assumption that every attempt to gain knowledge is relative to its place in the historical process. This assumption of historicism with respect to knowledge we have called the basic presupposition of historical relativism."³⁷ There are other forms of relativism, however, which he discusses but does not appear to subsume under historicism.

5. *Historical Prediction.*

Finally there is a definition of historicism which may gain currency because of the significance given to it by Karl Popper in his pleas for an approach to the social sciences that will make them more effective instruments of social betterment. He describes historicism as "a methodology of the social sciences that emphasizes their historical character and aims at *historical prediction*."³⁸ What he has added to previously held concepts of historicism is indicated by his own italics. Another quotation will help to sharpen Popper's definition:

... the historicist does not recognize that it is we who select and order the facts of history, but he believes that "history itself," or the "history of mankind," determines, by its inherent laws, ourselves, our problems, our future, and even our point of view. Instead of recognizing that historical interpretations should answer a need arising out of the practical problems and decisions which face us, the historicist believes that in our desire for historical interpretation, there expresses itself the profound intuition that by contemplating history we may dis-

³⁴ "Causal Analysis in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III (January, 1942), 34. Cf. Helmut R. Wagner, "Mannheim's Historicism," *Social Research*, XIX (September, 1952), 300-21, where Mannheim's "sociology of knowledge" is represented as "understandable only as a historicistic [*sic!*] system" (p. 303). On the basis of Wagner's own argument we venture to suggest that the distinctive element in Mannheim is not his "historicism" but his emphasis upon the dependence of knowledge on social groups and that hence "historicism" may be viewed as a misnomer for his system.

³⁵ *The Problem of Historical Knowledge* (New York, 1938), p. 88.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89. His references here are to Troeltsch and Rickert. For "fact of change" read Meinecke's "development."

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

³⁸ "The Poverty of Historicism," *Economica*, n.s. XI (1944), 86.

cover the secret, the essence of human destiny. Historicism is out to find The Path on which mankind is destined to walk; it is out to discover The Clue to History (as J. Macmurray calls it), or the Meaning of History.³⁹

The "historicists" whom Popper particularly despises are Plato and Hegel; among the others whom he castigates with varying amounts of vigor are Marx, Comte, J. S. Mill, and Arnold J. Toynbee. Incidentally he distinguishes "historism" from "historicism," though he does not make clear the distinction; and uses the term "sociologism," instead of "relationism" or "relativism," for a theory which "emphasizes the sociological dependence of our opinions."⁴⁰

II

Comparison of the long quotation from Karl Popper with meanings ascribed to "historicism" in groups 2, 3, and 4, above, will immediately reveal contradictions. His assertion, for example, that historicists do not recognize that "historical interpretations should answer a need" is directly contrary to major tenets of both Meinecke and Croce. From this and other examples of contradictions and inconsistencies among the various meanings cited, it is clear that "historicism," like *Historismus*, is a *Kampfbegriff*. Briefly, what is the struggle about?

First of all, it should be carefully noted that the concepts that have been associated with historicism have nothing to do with the basic historical methodology of the search for documents and their critical examination in order to determine such facts as the author, date, and provenance. On the contrary, these concepts have mainly been concerned with epistemology, with the meaning of history, and the meaningfulness of historiography. Therefore the approach and the evolving concepts of historicism are but aspects of the intellectual ferment of the twentieth century. However unrealistic some aspects of their philosophy may seem, the historicists reviewed in groups 2 and 3 above are obviously concerned to reassert *human* values. Meinecke's reverential admiration for Goethe, Croce's linking of historicism and humanism, Collingwood's attempt to distinguish history from natural science must be appraised in the context of a reaction to claims that "science" is the one sure path to knowledge. Thus historicism, as one aspect of the intellectual reactions in the twentieth century to positivism and naturalism, is truly the heir of the idealistic antirationalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Whether or not conscious of these currents, the thoughtful historian in

³⁹ *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London, 1945), II, 255-56.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 196.

an age when the happy confidence of the nineteenth century seems to have vanished must ask himself such questions as these: What good is history? What is the "truth" in history? Is there an order which the "facts" fall into of themselves or does the historian arrange facts in a pattern determined by his interests, his outlook, or his objectives? In short, can he write history "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" and divorce historiography from philosophical assumptions and interpretations as some historians of the nineteenth century apparently tried to do? The various interpretations or philosophies that have been labeled "historicism" have attempted partial or complete answers to these questions. At least one "good" of history is to help solve problems. The "truth" of history is less clear, but all insist that it is not a figment of the historian's imagination but is discovered, or re-thought, or logically determined on the basis of the existing evidence. Since the past cannot be reproduced as it actually was, history is inevitably a process of selection; but on the historian's criteria and their character—whether they are relativist, subjectivist, or objectivist—there seems to be little agreement, beyond the recognition that the historian is a part of the process he is studying and that explanation, whether regarded as "causal" or not, is complex and is primarily concerned with man, not with mechanism.

III

Although it is undoubtedly futile to attempt a completely acceptable definition of historicism at this time, there may nevertheless be some value in formulating a statement which summarizes the area of widest agreement upon its meaning. Before doing so, however, we suggest that it seems a little anomalous to classify the historical writing of any serious historian as "historicism" or "historicism." Even Croce's *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, for all his philosophical theories, could not be said to have a distinctively "historicism" character as compared with the attempts of other historians to deal with the same subject. On the other hand, if historicism may be looked upon as the action or theory of "historicizing" or of "historicization," that is, as a method of treating or evaluating a body of knowledge, then it should be applied to other disciplines than history. It has, in fact, been notably used as a belief or doctrine of philosophy. It would seem logical, therefore, to eliminate it as a label for the *historian's* approach to, or interpretation of, his subject (after all, one does not "historicize" history), but to use instead such words as "relativism" or "relationism" (if its meaning can be sufficiently clearly defined), or "economic determinism," or whatever, even though these inter-

pretations may have arisen out of a historicist era or viewpoint, as Gottschalk, Mandelbaum, and others have noted. Such a procedure would omit the meanings in group 4, above, as not properly included within a definition of historicism.

Furthermore, Popper's use of the term "historicism" to mean a methodology that "aims at *historical prediction*" would seem unfortunate because almost all the proponents of historicism repudiate any search for "laws" in the physical science sense, and hence deny that history offers a basis for prediction. Moreover, Popper's own description of historicism makes him a historicist himself within certain meanings of the word. For the sake, therefore, of some consistency, meaning 5 above may be discarded.

Bearing in mind, then, the meanings summarized in groups 1, 2, and 3 above, we suggest two brief definitions: (a) the belief that the truth, meaning, and value of anything, i.e., the basis of any evaluation, is to be found in its history; and, more narrowly, (b) the antipositivistic and antinaturalistic view that historical knowledge is a basic, or the only, requirement for understanding and evaluating man's present political, social, and intellectual position or problems. These definitions are intentionally general: the first (a) seeks to express a perspective in the philosophy of history within which there may be further diverse positions, one of which is sufficiently well established to be noted in the second (b). The definitions, it is hoped, will provide a basis for the more systematic classification of other positions. A further terminological necessity is to define as precisely as possible such specific theories as relationism, relativism, sociologism, and to point out their relations, if any, to historicism and more especially to historiography.

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Prosecuting the Revolution

RICHARD C. HASKETT

ALTHOUGH generations of historians have devoted themselves to the American Revolution, a significant part of that struggle—the patriot battle against tory subversion—is still largely unexplored. This war behind the lines has long been recognized as important but has remained difficult to evaluate. The warfare of campaigns and congresses has been more immediately comprehensible as well as more dramatic; a civilian war of courtrooms and committees is not readily assessed and its story is unheroic.

Yet the success of the Revolution was impossible without a revolutionary government which could enforce its will. The fight of patriot against loyalist was a struggle for survival: Washington's army might maintain a precarious existence in the face of British troops, but if the civilian government crumbled away behind it, there would be nothing left.

The problem was complicated because the makeshift government built by the Continental Congress had only a shadow of authority; the central administration was completely dependent upon the thirteen revolutionary states for enforcing the national will. At the same time the new states were under assault by the loyalists, with the result that they had to sustain the national government as they fought a civil war against the enemy within. In after years, subversion with all its gradations would become the concern primarily of a national authority, but in the American Revolution it was the states which faced and fought internal resistance.

For the student of the Revolution, probably the most direct and reliable approach to an understanding of this battle is through the work of the state attorney general. Among the civilians who labored to save the new republics, he was unique both in his peculiarly important position and in the general lack of recognition which historians have given him. At a time when the Continental Congress had no civilian agency of its own capable of handling enemies, the attorney general in each of the new commonwealths directed the campaign for both the nation as a whole and his own state. It was his job to translate principles into practices, to enforce the will of the government upon a reluctant or resisting population. He had to close the gap between the desires of revolutionary leaders and the capacity of revolutionary government. Particularly, he directed the defense of his new government by attack-

ing the local tories and trimmers in the state courts. His battlefield was the courtroom, his weapon revolutionary justice.

A careful investigation of the records of the attorney general's work in all the states would give the historian a reasonably clear picture of the civil war by indicating the pattern of revolutionary justice enforced against the enemy. Fortunately, the fundamental evidence of this patriot-loyalist war can be found in the surviving records of the courts where the attorney general conducted his campaign. Unfortunately, most of the facts lie buried in various courthouse attics and statehouse cellars, awaiting investigators. Efforts have been undertaken to make some of these legal records available to students generally, but only a beginning has been accomplished on what must be a very large program.¹

Meanwhile, it is possible to get some idea of the way the Revolution was prosecuted by studying wartime trials in areas where the original records are readily available. The state of New Jersey offers an example of the possibilities in such research and at the same time is an appropriate starting point because it was the chief scene of revolutionary action during the first great crisis of the war.

When General Washington, leaving behind him the disastrous battlefields of New York, retreated across the Jersey lowlands in the autumn of 1776, the hope of American independence was fading fast. Even in distant states patriot zeal was declining, but in New Jersey despair was acute for men in the "cockpit of the Revolution." As British troops invaded their state, the enemies of revolt grew bolder and many patriots lost heart; Richard Stockton, forced by armed soldiers, canceled his once brave signature on the Declaration of Independence, while the president of the convention which had only months before proclaimed the new state of New Jersey now repented his error and sought the comforting protection of Sir William Howe.²

The crisis was both personal and national, as patriots then and historians since have recognized. Although Washington saved the hope of the new nation when he fashioned twin miracles at Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey's patriot government was still in grave danger when the American army withdrew into the northern part of the state to winter at Morristown. As Howe drew back toward New York to keep watch over Washington,

¹ The revolutionary records for New Jersey quarter sessions are currently being prepared for publication by Mr. Harold Wayman under the sponsorship of the Littleton-Griswold Committee of the American Historical Association.

² Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 160-61. The general descriptions of revolutionary New Jersey which follow are based on this work unless otherwise noted.

much of New Jersey was left free of immediate pressure from British troops, but the threat from within remained. A faltering state administration was faced with loyalist opposition that might soon destroy what little authority it had; the battle to defend the new government was just beginning.

Although a story taken from courtroom accounts obviously cannot be complete, it does provide a reliable outline of the clash between a patriot government and its tory enemies. The basic strategy of the state and the tactics employed by its attorney general are evident in the record of prosecutions; the early frustrations and final success of the patriot assault are revealed in the minute books of the courts where the battle took place.

The man who directed the campaign in New Jersey was Attorney General William Paterson. Since he took office in the fall of 1776 and served until 1783, his courtroom career is itself a summary of his state's effort and presumably an indication of the way the anti-subversive war was fought in other states. The full story of his experience would require the use of all the surviving records of all the courts of New Jersey, and such an investigation has not been made. However, an examination of the records of three outstanding jurisdictions, those of the state supreme, Hunterdon County, and Somerset County courts, does yield a substantial amount of evidence and indicates a definite pattern of prosecution.³

From the first the attorney general theoretically had at his disposal legal machinery roughly the same as that employed when New Jersey was a colony. The basic part of the system was provided by thirteen county courts; a supreme court took appeals from the counties and also assumed original jurisdiction in cases involving a substantial interest. However, the higher court did not figure prominently in revolutionary prosecutions and the county courts became the chief centers of activity. Meeting four times a year, the lower courts were essentially benches of the local justices of the peace sitting together as courts of common pleas for civil cases and holding quarter sessions for criminal causes. Other judicial agencies were provided for by statute, such as courts of admiralty or oyer and terminer, but they had minor significance in the revolutionary process.

The traditional machinery, however, was not enough. It failed in the emergency of civil war, and early in 1777 a unique revolutionary device was added—the Council of Safety. Officially designed as an executive committee

³ Hunterdon and Somerset counties were chosen for investigation because of the availability of their records (those of Hunterdon are complete), their relative importance as counties, and the fact that they were the scenes of much revolutionary activity without ever being under British domination for a prolonged period.

to strengthen a constitutionally weak government, it was made up of twelve men chosen by the legislature and included the attorney general. Armed with the power to jail any man who was even suspected of opposing the state, the council became a powerful agency of indictment.⁴

When courts in general and grand juries in particular were derelict, the patriots of the council traveled over the state encouraging local officials and taking the administration of the law into their own hands whenever necessary. The attorney general and his council colleagues would descend upon a county, hear a procession of witnesses, order the sheriff or even the militia to seize suspected tories, and send them off to jail in whatever part of the state seemed safest. Then the council would move on to another county and repeat the process. The work was hasty but comprehensive: at Morristown in July of 1777 council members ordered the arrest of forty-eight people in the course of one day's work.⁵ Normal judicial safeguards were ignored in the emergency of the moment. In his dual role as a member of the council and attorney general, Paterson was able both to indict and to prosecute suspected tories.

On the other hand, even with special aid the court system was far from efficient. Inevitably, the practical weaknesses that had limited colonial courts hindered those of the state: the typical county judge was untrained and unconcerned when it came to proper procedures, clerks were casual to the point of carelessness in maintaining their records, and minor officials such as constables often were so reluctant to perform their tasks that judges alternately had to punish them with fines and favor them with special exemptions from military service to encourage them in their duties.⁶

Beyond these normal difficulties, the fact of war was itself enough to destroy any hope of regularity in the judicial process. No unit of a revolutionary legal system could be counted upon to meet on schedule and in the assigned place when an enemy army might appear on the scene.⁷ The threat was such a regular part of the attorney general's existence that when he at

⁴ Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New Jersey, August, 1776–October, 1799, Microfilm Reel New Jersey I, no. 297, Mar. 12, 15, 1777, Library of Congress; Lundin, pp. 269–70.

⁵ *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey, 1777–1778* (Jersey City, 1872), July 11, 1777.

⁶ The vagaries of justices and clerks can be found in any contemporary court minutes; specific examples of the constable problem are recorded in Oct. 7, 1778, Apr. 18, 1780, Somerset Quarter Sessions 1777–82 (hereafter cited as Somerset QS 1777–82), Somerset County Clerk's Office, Somerville, N. J.

⁷ February, 1777, Hunterdon Common Pleas XII (includes quarter sessions; hereafter cited as Hunterdon CP XII), Hunterdon County Clerk's Office, Flemington, N. J.; Sept. 2, 1777, Supreme Court Docket 1775–82 (hereafter cited as Supreme CD 1775–82), Office of the Clerk of the Superior Court, Trenton, N. J.

last went through an entire meeting of a county court without danger from the enemy he confessed it was the most agreeable session he had ever attended.⁸

Under the circumstances, confusion was natural; prosecutions were blocked because a court had never seen the law in question, and cases had to be called off because participants were unexpectedly captured by the British.⁹ Carelessness and concessions to expediency appeared regularly; a supreme court justice might preside over an action in which he personally was involved, and in an extreme instance a woman was permitted to present her own case before the bar.¹⁰

Amid the general courtroom complications, the attorney general had to supervise closely the whole judicial process. Sometimes special assistants were provided for him, but the work of prosecution was done in his name, and apparently it was Paterson himself who usually appeared for the state in county and supreme court alike.¹¹ Since the inclination of Jerseymen to steal, assault one another, bet on horses, or indulge in fornication was not reduced by civil war, much of the attorney general's energy was spent on the kind of business routine in peacetime as well as in war, but the significant part of his effort was concentrated on prosecuting the Revolution.

Revolutionary prosecutions took several forms.¹² Formal charges of high treason apparently were rare and limited to specially convened criminal courts. The most extreme charge that the attorney general made in the county courts was that the defendant (frequently being tried *in absentia*) had gone over to the king's army, thus becoming a traitor and subjecting his lands and goods to confiscation. Such confiscation could then follow. Test cases also came up often in the earlier part of the war; in these actions the prosecutor could require public swearing of allegiance by suspected loyalists under

⁸ Paterson to Cornelia Bell Paterson, June 2, 1782, Paterson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹ Joseph Clunn *v.* State, Oct. 28, 1778, Hunterdon CP XII; May McChesne *v.* James Abrahams, Supreme Court Costs Book, no. 2, Paterson Papers, Rutgers University Library.

¹⁰ John Denn *ex dem* Davd. Brearly Junr. *v.* Timothy Smith, Apr. 4, 1781, Supreme CD 1775-82 (David Brearly was sitting as chief justice); Elizh. Spencer *v.* George Givinoth [?], February, 1781, Hunterdon CP XII.

¹¹ State *v.* John Leary, Jr. and others, February, 1780, Morris County Oyer and Terminer, Paterson Papers, Library of Congress; State *v.* John Daniels, Nov. 13, 1777, Supreme CD 1775-82; State *v.* Elijah Bond, May 13, 1779, *ibid.* A survey of all the wartime records of state actions in the supreme, Hunterdon, and Somerset courts, plus scattered examples from other courts, reveals Paterson's name far more frequently than those of substitutes. Although in a majority of cases the state's attorney is not named (the form of record seems to have been at the clerk's option), the ratio in the instances where names are given puts the attorney general present more often than not. Paterson's letters are full of references to court attendance all over the state.

¹² The following summaries are based on Hunterdon CP XII-XIII; Somerset QS 1777-82 [actually 1778-82]; and Somerset Common Pleas 1778 [actually 1778-82], Somerset County Clerk's Office, Somerville, N. J.

threat of public punishment.¹³ Sometimes seditious words or offenses against the form of allegiance were sufficient to send the attorney general to court in defense of the new order. And often it was necessary for Paterson to remind his fellow citizens of their duties by prosecuting them for not turning out in response to a militia call; in such cases a fine was expected to improve the defendant's hearing for the next similar summons.

The different parts of the court system did not bear equally the weight of wartime prosecutions. The supreme court, with both civil and criminal jurisdiction, sharply declined in importance during the war years; by 1777 it was doing only one seventh as much business as it had done in the last year of peace, and the number of actions before the high tribunal did not approach prewar figures until 1781, by which time New Jersey was no longer in what could accurately be called a state of war.¹⁴ Most cases covering security matters originated on the county level, and apparently few appeals were taken to the supreme bench.

Civil war as it was fought in New Jersey characteristically became a series of local feuds or battles waged with an intensity that varied as the presence or absence of organized armies encouraged the combatants. As a local problem, it could best be solved through strong local government, and the state, typified by the Council of Safety, sought a solution by strengthening the county courts. This meant that the attorney general concentrated on prosecuting the Revolution on the local level.

The pattern of action was indicated by his work in Hunterdon, largest and wealthiest of all New Jersey counties.¹⁵ In the last meeting for 1776, held the same month that Paterson took office as attorney general, there was but one case before the court and that was for fornication. In the first half of 1777, before the Council of Safety was fully effective as an indicting agency, there were only nine cases prosecuted that had revolutionary significance. But by the end of the year the attorney general had tried thirty-four suspected subversives and one horse thief. Early in 1778 the chief problem was

¹³ Eventually a rule was laid down requiring attorneys appearing at the bar to formalize their allegiance by special oaths (August, 1777, Hunterdon CP XII).

¹⁴ Information on the supreme court is taken from Supreme CD 1775-82, and Supreme CD 1782-84. Although entitled dockets, these volumes include both the writs and minutes of the court.

¹⁵ Hunterdon CP XII. The succeeding illustrations are based on a survey of the appropriate court records. However, the figures given are at best approximations; the rudimentary minutes sometimes make it impossible to distinguish between new cases and those carried over from earlier sessions. In addition, the records were kept by clerks who did not always bother to spell a man's name the same way twice. Although conclusions on the attorney general's work in the counties have been based on the records of Hunterdon and Somerset, the general pattern of activity discovered there appears to be typical of the entire state. This assumption has received preliminary confirmation from Mr. Wayman's investigations of all New Jersey quarter sessions.

the failure of militiamen to come out on call, and by the end of the summer twenty-three cases had been taken care of under a system of group indictments which included as many as nine men in a single citation. The emphasis changed again at the close of the year, when over thirty final judgments were entered against convicted loyalists. This meant that during 1778 the attorney general had been in charge of more than sixty cases of special significance during the four brief meetings of the Hunterdon quarter sessions, not to mention the usual run of prosecutions for larceny, assault, trespass, adultery, cockfighting, and card playing. And he was dealing with cases before twelve other county courts at the same time.

The year 1779 showed a marked decrease in the number of cases before Hunterdon court, with Paterson handling only a fourth as many as the year before. This trend continued, and in 1780 the special revolutionary cases had all but disappeared from the docket. The legal Revolution was over and won, as far as Hunterdon County was concerned.

In Somerset County the story was similar.¹⁶ Prosecutions for wartime offenses numbered over seventy in 1777, with the attorney general concentrating on cases of militia failure and adherence to the king but dealing also with a handful of the usual indictments for horse racing and such. The next year Paterson's special prosecutions were only one fourth as many and were equaled by ordinary business. After 1779 the wartime actions were insignificant; for Somerset County, just as for Hunterdon, the Revolution was over.

Assuming the pattern of Hunterdon and Somerset activity to be typical of the entire state, the attorney general's revolutionary court struggle takes its place as a culminating aspect of the New Jersey fight for independent government. When the Council of Safety, literally a council of desperation, was formed in March of 1777, the judicial system seemed powerless to protect the state. But the new executive created a power potential in the courts and the attorney general utilized it with growing success. As the council was strengthened and renewed during the succeeding months, the attorney general's court attacks on the enemy increased. Significantly, the council was allowed to dissolve in October, 1778, at the very moment when Paterson's loyalist prosecutions were at the peak of their effectiveness.¹⁷ Presumably the leaders of New Jersey were convinced that the attorney general could now handle internal threats through the regular agencies of law enforcement; in any case, their action was followed by what, compared to the preceding years,

¹⁶ The records up through 1777 were destroyed, but the pattern for the years 1778-83 follows that of Hunterdon County (Somerset QS 1777-82, Somerset CP 1778).

¹⁷ Lundin, p. 270; October, 1778, Hunterdon CP XII; October, 1778, Somerset CP 1778.

was a period of relative security. The decline of prosecutions after 1778 was a mark not of failure but of freedom from major threats. The judicial picture reflected the military situation: the battle of Monmouth in June of 1778 was the last significant military engagement in New Jersey, and the uneasy repose which followed it was disturbed only briefly in 1780 and not seriously shaken thereafter.¹⁸

The turning point for the new government of New Jersey came in 1778, also the year when the attorney general successfully climaxed his revolutionary service to that government. The next year saw the practical conclusion of his contribution to independence.

Unfortunately, the judgment that an attorney general made outstanding contributions to his state's independence is not enough. In spite of William Paterson's success against the loyalists of New Jersey, there were a number of significant failures in his official career, and apparently some of them were intentional. The same court records which illustrate the success of patriot prosecutions also reveal major miscarriages or misapplications of revolutionary justice.

The legal problem of the disposal of confiscated loyalist property may be used to indicate the character of some of the failures of the attorney general. Confiscated property presented difficulties from the first: while most patriots agreed it was obvious justice for the men who supported the king to lose their land in punishment, they could not always agree on which patriots should gain what the tories lost. In New Jersey's neighboring state of New York, the final result of a long and complicated effort was that a small group of patriot profiteers got hold of most of the loyalist land; in New Jersey itself the result may have been the same—the limited evidence available suggests it.¹⁹

New Jersey's confiscation program developed gradually over a period of many months. Eventually a system was devised whereby county commissioners were chosen and given the initial task of seizing the property of suspected loyalists. Juries of inquest were then called under authority of a justice of the peace to determine the validity of the commissioners' claims that the owners of seized estates were loyalists. When a claim had been validated, a formal inquisition was returned at the local court, where the attorney

¹⁸ Lundin, pp. 403, 428-34.

¹⁹ The first large-scale, systematic study of the question of loyalist estates in any of the states was Harry P. Yoshpe, *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of New York* (New York, 1939). Although other similar surveys are underway, an unpublished study by Nathan Adams, "The Confiscation of Loyalist Estates in Somerset County, New Jersey," is the only work available at this writing on the subject in New Jersey; it has been used for the general treatment here, except as noted.

general proceeded to present the charge. After he had established under law that the defendant had gone to the enemy lines, advertisement of the process was made, and that in turn was followed by final judgment at the next session of court. Thus the estate was forfeited to the government.

It was at this point, when the court issued a writ of process ordering the commissioners to auction off the estate, that an especially attractive opportunity appeared for illegal profit. Commissioners could and did fail to advertise the sale, fail to publish an accurate inventory (giving the public a false idea of the value involved), hold the auction at an inconvenient time, close the bidding at a specific hour after a confederate had placed a bid, and so maneuver the whole thing that a favored buyer would get the property at a bargain price.²⁰ Moreover, after the sale had been completed and the sale price collected, there were additional opportunities for profit; in the words of Governor Livingston, the commissioners "plundered us of thousands by trading with the money, or converting it into real estate, and afterwards paying us at a great depreciation."²¹ Many officials ended up delinquent in their accounts, and by 1781 the state had realized only about 28,000 pounds sterling from an extensive program of sales.²²

Meantime, the attorney general was busy prosecuting loyalists, speeding confiscations, and apparently ignoring the patriots who profiteered in the process.²³ He was not alone in his tolerance; the assembly itself, after condemning a particularly fraudulent set of sales by a particularly notorious set of commissioners, neglected to act against them or encourage the attorney general to do so.²⁴ Even when Frederick Frelinghuysen, one of the Somerset commissioners, turned up as the proud owner of two of the seven estates he had sold, no embarrassing questions were asked.²⁵

Perhaps Paterson was reluctant to examine the motives of his old friend Frelinghuysen, or possibly he was merely discreet. By the end of the war the attorney general was himself the owner of an estate he had confiscated, and another was in the hands of his brother-in-law.²⁶ Together, Paterson, his

²⁰ Lundin, pp. 286–88. Legislative hearings, representations, and petitions to the assembly, committee reports, and depositions all offer evidence of illegal dealings.

²¹ Quoted in Richard P. McCormick, *Experiment in Independence* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1950), p. 33 n.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33, 32 n.

²³ There is no evidence in the court records inspected that Paterson undertook any actions against commissioners.

²⁴ Lundin, p. 287.

²⁵ Adams, p. 39.

²⁶ Declaration of sale to William Paterson, Apr. 14, 1779, Paterson Papers, Rutgers University Library; Deed to William Paterson, Deeds Liber H3, pp. 338–40, Secretary of State's Office, Trenton, N. J.; Deed of David White to Thomas Irwin, recorded Apr. 12, 1779, Somerset Deeds A, p. 1, Somerset County Clerk's Office, Somerville, N. J.

family, and his commissioner friend took over half of the loyalist estates known to have been seized by the government in Somerset County.²⁷ One very good reason why the legal department of New Jersey did not move to clean up the confiscation process may well have been that the head of the department was making a profit out of it.

But even if the attorney general did himself profit in the process, the significant part of his work was the insuring of patriot success. The triumph of Revolution in New Jersey came because many men worked for it in many different ways, but it was the attorney general who led the courtroom battle against subversion, giving life and authority to his government. He was building and defending a new state through the only agencies that were available.

And in the other states other attorney generals were faced with the same work of construction and defense that confronted Paterson. When the courtroom history of the thirteen American Revolutions is known, historians will be able to offer a reliable judgment on the importance of the legal war. They may then conclude that America owes much to men like the attorney general of New Jersey who helped establish independent government as they prosecuted the Revolution.

George Washington University

²⁷ Adams, pp. 39-40.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

NATURAL RIGHT AND HISTORY. By *Leo Strauss*. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 327. \$5.00.)

THIS intensely felt and lucidly expounded study is an expanded version of six lectures that Professor Strauss delivered at the University of Chicago in 1949 under the auspices of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation. In it he expresses his deep concern that the philosophy of natural right has been rejected in contemporary American political thought, among others by "generous liberals," and "not only with placidity but with relief." The need for natural right, however, is as evident today as it ever has been, for the practical consequence of rejecting it, he maintains, is to make what is right a function of positive law, of court decisions, and to place man in bondage to his society. Rejection consequently is bound to lead, has indeed led, to nihilism of which the true consequence is fanatical obscurantism. For by discarding a standard for judging the ideals of our own society as well as of any other society, by placing the cultivation of individuality above natural law, one has resigned himself to utter ignorance concerning the soundness or unsoundness of the principles of his choice. One has in effect made tolerance "one value among many, and not intrinsically superior to its opposite."

This disastrous consequence, in a major sense the end product of nineteenth- and twentieth-century speculation in the social sciences, "has led to a renewed general interest in natural right"; it has imposed upon him, he continues, "the duty of a detached, impartial discussion" of the problem. This volume, then, is a historical study designed to expose the complexities of the issues at stake. By way of summarizing its contents (and displacing the order of his treatment): the author takes up the origins of natural right in classical thought, its cardinal position in medieval concepts, its reformulation by Hobbes and Locke, the crisis it underwent in the late eighteenth century as expressed in Rousseau and Burke, and the reasoning by which the historicists and the disciples of Max Weber with their fallacious distinction between facts and values undermined it in the course of the last 150 years.

His tight discussion of the exponents and the opponents of natural right rests upon a solid and sober foundation of learning. That one has the right to expect of the author. It is illuminated by understanding and warmed by a deep and contained emotion which is more sensed in the reading than released in the writing. The control is explicit; the emotion, implicit. Lucid as it is, the argument through-

out is complex and involved, for the facets of Strauss's scholarship are many and he puts heavy demands of concentration upon his readers. Yet the effort required is repaid in rich dividends, and not the least the heightened awareness that the problem which he raises in an independent and searching way cuts to the heart of the dilemma in which thinking man today is caught.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History and Fellow of Berkeley College in Yale University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1953. Pp. xxvii, 1516. \$9.50.)

HERE is the first major American compendium of church history since the spate of volumes produced at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the most widely used among them being the histories by George P. Fisher (Yale), 1888, by Albert Henry Newman, 1904, and by Williston Walker (Yale), 1918. Latourette's extensive volume adds to the luster of Yale in the production of general church histories.

All these earlier comprehensive surveys were deeply indebted to German Protestant scholarship, and in all of them, particularly in Walker's, there was a noticeable diffidence about finding an adequate place for the epic story of American Christianity commensurate with its importance for world history and especially, of course, for American readers. Instead, state-church German Protestantism was unconsciously given a primacy which American historians, nurtured in the free-church and dissenting traditions derived from England, might more appropriately have accorded either English Christianity as a whole or the dissenting and nonconformist tradition wherever it might appear. Latourette's large volume, in contrast, reviews the history of Christianity from an entirely new vantage point. For the first time, the missionary expansion of the faith is fully integrated into a general church history. The vantage point is ecumenical, surely not primarily American. Even the orthography tends to honor British usage. And one is more likely to find an account here of the founders of Christianity in the Belgian Congo than of the Bay Colony.

The work is emphatically not a contraction of the author's earlier multivolume *Expansion of Christianity*. From the former work, to be sure, the basic periodization is taken over, though the medieval "thousand years of uncertainty" are here, with increased precision, articulated in three distinct epochs. The theology of history apparent in the earlier work is here even more emphatically restated, almost exclusively, however, at the beginning of the major sections without its obtruding upon, or, one might add, sustaining, the main body of factual recital. It is principally in the use of John as an unequivocal source for the life of Jesus that

the author reveals within his basic narrative the theological and exegetical conservatism forthrightly indicated in the preface. One might wish, however, that he had been a little more precise in his definition of Christianity, a little more explicit about the nature and function of the church; for all that bear the name Christian are admitted to the chronicle if their influence warrants attention. No schematization or typology or indeed theology is allowed to get in the way of the simple rehearsal of the basic facts and trends. It is all the same to this magisterial Baptist historian of missions, whether Christianity is expanding according to the Mozarabic or the Malabar rite, whether the language of its proclamation is Ethiopic or English.

From his earlier, multivolume work the author summarizes the essential facts for each era and incorporates them into the new work as the external history of Christianity, its social and geographical penetration, its political encounters and setbacks. Then he goes back and traces for the same era the internal history, its theological, institutional, and constitutional development. Thus it may happen that a crucial figure like Augustine will be met several times, chapters apart. This so-to-speak vertical as distinguished from horizontal arrangement of the material is both a merit and a major defect of the work, which, in keeping with the broad sweep, willingly sacrifices almost every possibility of recreating the mood of a single period. The reader is introduced, for example, to the spread of Christianity among the Goths under Ulfilas and among the Hephthalite Huns, before he has faced the Gnostic crisis, Hippolytus, and the Homoousian. In thus breaking with the schematizations and protocol of the older manuals, Latourette has succeeded in bringing together the essential findings of recent research in a fresh and readable way. Each section is provided with a selected bibliography and brief comments. The index is thorough. *The History of Christianity* is both a rich text for the seminary student and a readable narrative for the zealous layman.

Harvard University

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS

RUMOURS OF WARS. By *A. J. P. Taylor*, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (London: Hamish Hamilton; New York: British Book Centre. 1952. Pp. viii, 262. \$3.25.)

MR. Taylor has selected for reprinting thirty-five of his numerous reviews and articles which he no doubt considers his best. Twice-told tales are decidedly worth while if graceful in expression and suggestive in content. These are both graceful and suggestive, and are therefore commended to Americans who may not have happened to see them in the British publications where they first appeared. Mr. Taylor is a master of brilliant paradox, startling juxtapositions, and dogmatic brevity. He is fond of the formula: either . . . or . . . ; there is no third choice (pp. 13, 22). But his brilliance suggests the crystal chandelier: sparkling at night but less impressive when closely examined by the cold light of day. Why, for

instance, did Neville Chamberlain appease Hitler? Mr. Taylor suggests at least two explanations, neither satisfactory. "The appeasement of Germany would not have been tried so obstinately in the nineteen-thirties, if it had not been for the recollection or myth or legend that the appeasement of France had worked in the eighteen-thirties" (pp. 79-80). Joseph Chamberlain, in dishing up his own innocence of the Jameson Raid, "stood in exactly the same relation to Rhodes and Jameson as Hitler stood to Henlein and the Sudeten Germans in 1938. Perhaps it was this which made Neville Chamberlain listen so sympathetically to Hitler's tales of innocence" (p. 155).

Three chapters analyze trends in English historiography, in which Feiling, Neale, and Namier come off well, and Butterfield and Toynbee not so well. Three more explain De Tocqueville's fear of democracy, Napoleon III's tricks, and the paradoxes of the Crimean War. Reviews of Eyck's *Bismarck* and Kaufmann's *Nietzsche* are followed by a strikingly new interpretation of Bismarck's policies between 1862 and 1870. Most valuable for serious historians are two meticulous studies based on *Documents diplomatiques français* and unpublished British Foreign Office records: "The Prelude to Fachoda" and "British Policy in Morocco, 1886-1902." Documents relating to "Munich" are given much critical attention. In chapters on Stalin and the Russian problem, the leitmotif is: "I'd rather be anti-German than anti-Russian" (p. 13); and the conclusion: Soviet policy has probably been motivated primarily by fear, so the West had better not increase that fear by arming Germany. Among the more notable books reviewed are *The History of The Times*, Hitler's *Tischgespräche*, and the memoirs of Coulondre, Weizsäcker, Weygand, Bouthillier, Soustelle, and Admiral Leahy.

Mr. Taylor unfortunately has not indicated when and where each selection was first printed; nor is there an index.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

LA FRANCE ET LES ETATS-UNIS: ECHANGES ET RENCONTRES (1524-1800). By Léonie Villard. (Lyon and Paris: Editions de Lyon. 1952. Pp. xiv, 407.)

ONE of the first women to hold a magistral chair in a French university, Miss Villard has for many years devoted a large part of her academic activities to the teaching of American literature and civilization. In this volume, which covers the colonial period and the first twenty-five years of the national life of the United States, she has endeavored to call attention to "one hitherto almost forgotten aspect" of the relations between France and America, namely "the aspect of personal efforts, private initiatives, all the purely human element in relations which before becoming international were established between individuals or existed at the beginning between small groups of men" (p. x). The result is not a continuous history, which remains to be written, but a picture gallery.

The first four chapters deal with the prerevolutionary period, with Verrazano,

Jean Ribaut, and the first French specialists brought over to Virginia to develop the production of silk and wine. A well-documented chapter, "Terre d'asile des Huguenots," retells the well-known story of the refugees in New England and New Amsterdam with an altogether too brief mention of the Huguenots in Virginia and South Carolina. Through these chapters the author maintains a judicial and moderate attitude, refraining from overemphasizing the contributions of the immigrants to the early development of the country. The same objectivity is observed in the chapter dealing with the royalists and revolutionary refugees, the Scioto, Gallipolis, Asylum, and the land ventures of Ray de Chaumont. In a chapter devoted to the "mythology" of Franco-American relations appear three full-length, well-drawn portraits: Washington, Franklin, and Lafayette. Chapters VII and VIII deal with less important figures and defy analysis. Their very titles—"Quelques rencontres et quelques échanges entre les deux pays au cours des deux révolutions" and "Quelques rencontres et quelques échanges littéraires et artistiques"—give an idea of their heterogeneous contents. The section estimating the part played by Benjamin West in the development of neoclassicism in France will probably be a revelation to most French readers.

In general the author has avoided sweeping and dangerous generalizations. However, the statement that Protestants and aristocrats "all" elected America as a place of refuge calls for strong reservations. More venturesome is the assumption that the vogue of Montesquieu was largely due to the rejection by the Insurgents of "everything English" when on the contrary they fought to restore and preserve "the ancient English liberties" which they found described in the *Esprit des lois*. One would probably find that all the "individuals" mentioned did not exert such a beneficial influence as might appear from the incomplete accounts of their activities. The description of Michaux's "mission" leaves out the political aspect entirely, and Volney's stay in America was marked by political and religious controversies of the most virulent sort. Miss Villard has collected and presented many picturesque facts and episodes scattered in memoirs, opuscles, and articles, without indulging in anecdotic facility. The value of the book would be much enhanced if an index had been provided. This is still too current a deficiency in many French productions despite the lament of foreign readers.

Princeton University

GILBERT CHINARD

THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM, 1854-1874: TWENTY CRITICAL YEARS.

By Ralph S. Kuykendall. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1953. Pp. x, 310. \$5.00.)

THIS is the second in the projected series of three volumes on the history of the Hawaiian kingdom from its earliest times through to the downfall of the monarchy with the attempted annexation fiasco in 1893 and the birth of the republic. Should Hawaii, by the time the third volume appears, have become the forty-

ninth state, it will have been provided with one of the most comprehensive and excellent background historical narratives possessed by any of our American states.

The year 1854 marks the beginnings of what might be termed the "modern" period in the history of the Hawaiian kingdom. By that date the entire structure of the old kingdom, with its native economy and social organization governed by an absolute and semifeudal monarchy, was feeling the effects of new contacts with the United States derived from the missionary influences, as well as expanding trade penetration from the outer world. Dr. Kuykendall has aptly titled the next twenty years, to 1874, "critical years" in the development of the tiny island kingdom. This era was critical in terms of two very vital influences on Hawaii's development. One of these was the radical change taking place in the economic and social evolution of the kingdom under the impact of new trade relationships with the United States and other nations. As Dr. Kuykendall points out in chapter v, it was a shift from whales to sugar. Growing out of this were marked changes in population structure resulting from the demand for a new labor supply and the consequent heavy immigration of Orientals. The native Hawaiians became a racial minority in their own kingdom.

The second major force determining the future of Hawaii in the two decades was the development of its diplomatic relations with the United States and other powers. Both the old New England missionary influences and the more recent pressure of economic forces growing out of the new sugar industry drew Hawaii more firmly into the orbit of American diplomacy. At the same time, the Islands were not without interest to such powers as France, Great Britain, and even Russia. Since the United States, as far back as Tyler's administration, had thrown around Hawaii the protection of a semi-Monroe Doctrine opposing with vigor the intrusion of any other power, complications ensued. Moreover, between 1854 and 1874, the United States developed increasing imperial interest in the Pacific in general and in Hawaii in particular. This imperialism was accentuated, of course, by the combination of missionary, sugar trade, and investment influences. Here again Dr. Kuykendall has done a magnificent job of analyzing in a thorough and objective manner the whole story of the diplomatic intrigues and counter-intrigues growing out of these circumstances.

This reviewer strongly advises that all students of American diplomatic history of this period study with care the story of our diplomacy in Hawaii as detailed so thoroughly in this volume. And I have no doubt but that the same observation will pertain to the forthcoming and concluding volume in the series. All in all, this is a remarkably thorough and competent study. We are all indebted to the author for his painstaking care in research and his skill in turning a staggering mass of factual information into an interesting narrative history.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

S. K. STEVENS

A WORLD HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES. Volume II, THE WORLD BETWEEN THE WARS: FROM THE 1918 ARMISTICE TO THE MUNICH AGREEMENT. By *Quincy Howe*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1953. Pp. xiii, 784. \$7.50.)

A FEW years ago some of the editors at Harper and Brothers had the bright idea that somebody ought to write a comprehensive history of world events since about 1900, and the further bright idea that a nonacademic writer might be less likely to blanch at ranging from continent to continent and from politics to economics and literature and military strategy than a professor would be. The editors' choice fell upon Quincy Howe because of his uncommon competence as a radio commentator on foreign affairs and many other subjects. When Mr. Howe was approached, he agreed that the idea was a good one. In fact, he said, he was already at work on it—for Simon and Schuster!

Very early it was apparent to Mr. Howe that the job would require not one, but three volumes. The first appeared in 1949; the second is now before us.

It is a monumental piece of work. To give just a faint idea of the variety of movements and events with which it deals in its 350,000-word journey from 1918 to 1938, one may note that it portrays pretty fully such diverse characters as Wilson, Masaryk, Mustapha Kemal, Gandhi, Einstein, Lenin, Coolidge, Stresemann, Baldwin, Mussolini, Sun Yat-sen, Stalin, Primo de Rivera, Hoover, Roosevelt, Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek, and Neville Chamberlain; and gives more than brief attention to scores of other figures, from Venizelos to Mencken, from Schuschnigg to Dali, and from Edward VIII to Leguía. Furthermore, Mr. Howe has a remarkable grasp of his material, whether he is writing about what Stalin did with the legacy of Lenin, or about Coolidge's assets and liabilities, or about the disheartening approach of the Munich crisis. I dare say specialists will find him at fault in this area or that of his huge assignment; as a reader semi-ignorant on many parts of it I can only testify that I find the book exhaustively knowledgeable, expertly written, and packed with significant reflections and insights.

In fact, my only criticism is less a criticism of Mr. Howe than a despairing comment on the appalling complexity of the historical scene with which people who want to be well informed today should be familiar. This is a difficult book to read consecutively; it requires hard application in some of the less familiar sequences, and calls for real study. I could not help wishing that Mr. Howe had been able to proceed much more rapidly. But I realized that every situation with which he dealt was complex and required detail for its interpretation; and I was left with the humbling sense that in the history of our times, brevity without oversimplification is well-nigh impossible.

All the same, I can't help wishing that after Mr. Howe has finished his three colossal volumes he would try a condensation of them in one short volume. For such a book is needed, and by that time he could make the try as no one else could.

New York, N. Y.

FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN

TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY. By *Winston S. Churchill*. [The Second World War.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1953. Pp. xvi, 800. \$6.00.)

CLEMENCEAU, outstanding statesman of France in the First World War, wrote reminiscently of the "grandeurs and miseries of victory"; Winston Churchill, the British pilot of the Second, writes now of "Triumph and Tragedy." After both wars (perhaps after all great wars) victory involved also disappointment and disillusionment during the years of postwar reconstruction. Though Churchill carries his narrative only to the day which closed his wartime premiership, the shadow of impending trouble with Russia is thrown across every page. If there is a topic sentence which may serve as the key to the whole book it is a remark, very incidentally introduced in the course of a defense of his Grecian policy in 1944, "I saw quite plainly that Communism would be the peril civilisation would have to face after the defeat of Nazism and Fascism" (p. 305). Though the first five volumes of the series told of many defeats, and this final volume carries victory in an unbroken crescendo from D-Day to the Potsdam conference in the heart of defeated Germany, its tone is sadder than that of the earlier works. Russia is already making trouble; eastern Europe appears doomed; Roosevelt "the greatest American friend we have ever known" is dead; and a new Labour government has displaced Churchill's. This last disappointment, though Churchill calls it a blessing "quite effectively disguised" (p. 675), has perhaps been a boon to history. Would the author have lived to finish his great prose epic of the war if his time had been taken up by office duties during all the postwar years?

The chief interest in the military narrative is a reiterated argument for his own strategic views as against the American, especially in two matters: the expedition to southern France, when Churchill would have preferred an advance in the Adriatic region toward Vienna; and the withdrawal to lines agreed on with the Russians, instead of pressing on in Saxony and Bohemia in order to minimize the area of Russian occupation. Churchill may have been in the right on both occasions, as he perhaps was in the right in urging a more vigorous venture at the Straits in the First World War, but it is hard for the lay reader to pass judgment on disputes in which a minister who was, after all, a civilian, was opposed by much expert military opinion.

The political narrative is largely taken up by negotiations with Russia, and particularly by Churchill's vain attempt to secure a really independent government for Poland. Stalin, flexible on most issues (Churchill distinctly praises him for keeping out of the 1944 troubles in Greece), was blunt to the point of brutality in his insistence that Poland was a Russian sphere of influence. Churchill shows how callously Stalin permitted the Germans to wipe out Warsaw, and even refused to permit British and American planes to land "on Soviet territory" after dropping aid to the distressed Poles (p. 133). Russia seemed to make promises for a free Poland at Yalta, but these were all later betrayed. Churchill wanted to send a vigorous protest at these violations (chapter vi), but Roosevelt, while agreeing in principle, was willing to grant Russia a little more time to make concessions.

There were other ominous signs of future trouble: Stalin's accusations against the good faith of Britain and America in the matter of German surrenders on the western front (chapter vii); Russia's "overwhelming influence in the Balkans," and the "iron curtain" (the phrase was used in a telegram to President Truman as early as May 12, 1945) across central Europe (p. 573); Tito's attempt to seize Trieste and to keep out the British and Americans, an episode which led to Truman's first vigorous protest against Communist policy (p. 555). On the other hand, Churchill did not seem greatly concerned over Russia's stand on the Great Power veto in the United Nations, feeling that Britain herself might need the veto power some day (p. 355). Stalin, informed about the atom bomb, showed merely a friendly general interest, no special curiosity. Perhaps this was because he already knew more, as a result of espionage, than it was tactful to admit.

As in all the books of this series, the appendix is the richest and raciest part, for here are the confidential minutes and notes and telegrams of the Prime Minister, in all their informal undress. Perhaps no other contemporary statesman was so little a specialist. Everything is fish for his net, the most trivial as well as the most important issues. We find, for instance, "to call a British division an Indian division is really going below the level of grovelling to which we have been subject" (p. 692); the persecution of the Jews during the war by Nazi orders was "the most horrible crime committed in the whole history of the world" (p. 693); "I know it is the modern view that all rich people should be put to death wherever found, but it is a pity that we should take up that attitude" (p. 695); "that China is one of the world's four Great Powers is an absolute farce" (p. 701); "Make sure that the beer goes to the troops under the fire of the enemy before any of the parties in the rear get a drop" (p. 709); "attention should be drawn" to misspelling in Foreign Office telegrams (p. 749); "This war would never have come unless, under American and modernising pressure, we had driven the Habsburgs out of Austria and the Hohenzollerns out of Germany" (p. 750); "What is the point of bringing 500 tons of fish per day to London if only one-half of it is edible" (p. 761); postwar fraternization with the enemy should be allowed, since Russia permits it, "We are dignified and insulting, and the Russians are boon companions and enslavers" (p. 762).

Ann Arbor, Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE WAR. By *George Kirk*. With an Introduction by *Arnold Toynbee*. [Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946. Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (2d impression [Revised]; New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 511. \$10.00.)

THE revision of this volume, which first appeared late in 1952, was forced upon the publisher by Zionist pressure, as a comparison of pages 12, 13 and note 2, 14 and note 2, 229 and note 1, 318 and note 1, and 331 and note 1,

would indicate. Here is an illustration: "But already official Zionism was descending its spiral of intrigue, deceit, flattery and corruption; and simultaneously those British officials . . ." (1st impression, p. 13, lines 11-13); "But already on both sides the spirit was growing worse. Jewish critics put their finger on the mischief done by lack of candour among responsible Jewish leaders, and simultaneously those British officials . . ." (revised impression, p. 13, lines 11-14).

The material is grouped in four parts. In the first a general picture is portrayed of the political movements in the so-called Middle East between 1939 and 1945. The movements comprise Arab nationalism and Zionism. In the second part the internal political development of the area is treated—including the bids for independence of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon—together with the inter-relations with the Western powers and the Soviet Union. Part three continues the discussion from 1943 to 1945 and takes in the Arabian Peninsula, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and North Africa. In the concluding part emphasis is laid on the USSR in its relations to Turkey, Persia, and the Arab world. The book has eight maps, all to illustrate the war effort, and an index that can hardly be considered adequate.

In the preface the author argues that since the motor vehicle and aircraft have practically annihilated the barrier of the Syrian Desert, which had separated the Near East and the Middle East, and have made of both areas one geopolitical entity, he chose for his title "Middle East." By that logic the choice should have fallen on "Near" as there can be a near position without a medial—but not vice versa—so long as there is a far position. Mr. Kirk's approach is almost entirely from the Western—a hypercritic might say British—point of view. He maintains (pp. 14-15) that the British mandatory power made concessions to the nationalist movement and sought to guide it along the path of sound administration, whereas French policy was dominated by the notion of France's historic "civilizing mission." But how about Palestine? In discussing Syria's struggle for independence no mention was made of Fāris al-Khūrī, who took a leading part throughout. Nor is there a reference to the contribution made by Lebanese emigrants, especially in Egypt and Brazil, to the urge for self-determination. A Near Eastern, even an American, author would have probably produced a radically different book.

Obviously Kirk has no control over Arabic, the major language of the area. Most of the references are to translations in *Oriente moderno* and *Bourse égyptienne*. Hardly any of the transliterated words that require diacritical marks are adequately rendered, and a large number of proper nouns are mutilated or given in some hybrid form or rendered otherwise incorrectly. The fact, however, remains that this volume is chock-full of information that is hard to find and that it will remain for years to come the authoritative work on a most critical period in a strategic area of the world.

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

Ancient and Medieval History

TROY: THE SIXTH SETTLEMENT. Volume III, Part 1: TEXT; Part 2: PLATES. By *Carl W. Blegen, John L. Caskey, and Marion Rawson*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati. 1953. Pp. xxix, 418; xxxv, 512 plates. \$36.00.)

FOR the archaeological investigator, the supreme catastrophe at ancient Troy was not its destruction in prehistoric, but its reoccupation in historic, times. Construction on the engineering scale of the late Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods did more effective damage to the "topless towers of Ilium" than the thousand ships which Helen may have launched. Only the deep-set ring of supporting terrace-walls (and not all of that), together with the bottom walls of some of the nearest houses behind it, were based low enough to survive the destructive late re-leveling of the high-heaped hill. It was ironically inevitable that Schliemann, because he attacked the central summit rather than the peripheral slope of the mound, entirely missed the greatest and most "Homeric" of all the prehistoric settlements of Troy, and equally disappointing that after Schliemann's death Doerpfeld, though he uncovered and traced for more than half their circuit the spectacular towered and gated walls of Troy VI, could find but little trace of the settlement which they once enclosed.

It must not be supposed that there was nothing more to be done than to dust off Doerpfeld's dig of 1893-94 and probe a neglected corner or two for random sherds and overlooked spindlewhorls. Thousands of tons of debris were moved; completely undug areas yielded not mere cross-sections of undisturbed strata but several new buildings; much genuinely new information was elicited. The resultant accumulation of architectural cut-stone *in situ*, shattered pottery, and scattered miscellaneous cultural objects, has all been sorted, processed, and edited for the present volume—a prodigious technical achievement in all respects.

Yet, obviously, the Cincinnati Expedition could not, any more than Doerpfeld, uncover what was not there; and Troy VI must forever remain an almost empty semicircle of splendid supporting walls for a vanished settlement. No spectacular novel additions to the already known (which in the nature of the case were not to be expected) have been made by the re-exposing and further uncovering of Level VI. The extremely minute scrutiny of the great circuit-wall, section by section in the present publication (and in the course of the actual campaign, almost literally stone by stone), however, now gives us in Troy VI the most precise record that we possess of any Aegean prehistoric fortification.

The present volume most commendably shows signs of breaking with its authors' original determination merely to present the evidence and has prefaced the long descriptive catalogue of finds with several pages of invaluable and illuminating wider comment. Whether the balance of evidence from these obser-

vations on architectural and cultural details should tilt the scales a little more toward Asia Minor and a little less toward Mycenaean Greece must remain for others to debate. It is clear that Troy is an Aegean site, not an outpost of Hittite or other inland Anatolian culture; but neither is Troy VI a Minoan settlement nor yet—and here Professor Blegen is welcomingly explicit—mainland Helladic. The “domestic idiosyncrasies” of Troy VI “stand out in all its works and productions.” An observation which will attract interest from a wider circle is the precise attestation from skeletal remains that the domesticated horse first appears at Troy with the sixth settlement.

Professor Blegen is equally outspoken in his willingness to convert the intricacies of relative chronology, which are the mound-digger’s primary occupation, into the over-all simplicity of calendar dates, which must be the historian’s great need. The final and most prosperous phase of Troy VI, when the great stone retaining walls were built, can be confidently assigned to little more than a century “from a few years before 1400 to a short time after the close of the 14th century B.C., when an earthquake brought the era to an end.” But in the other direction the problem of assigning dates is “far less satisfactory” to Professor Blegen, who feels that the evidence can best be reconciled by setting the opening of the period of the sixth settlement “in the neighborhood” of 1800 B.C.

With *ca.* 1275 B.C. set as the fairly exact calendar date for the close of its career and with the destruction at that time—of this event the excavators are emphatically convinced—of Troy VI by violent earthquake, the more literary reader and the less archaeologically minded cultural historian must wait for the final forthcoming volume of *Troy* to tell him what connection there may be, in all this infinitely competent probing, between the Troy of the archaeological symbols (VIIa, VIIb1, VIIb2) and the Troy of Homer and Helen.

Bryn Mawr College

RHYS CARPENTER

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume II, TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by *M. Postan*, Professor of Economic History in the University of Cambridge, and *E. E. Rich*, Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 604. \$9.00.)

WHEN in the grim days of December, 1940, Sir John Clapham wrote his preface to the first volume of the *Cambridge Economic History* (reviewed *AHR*, XLVIII [October, 1942], 74-77), his tough stolid optimism could not entirely quiet the fear there might be no second. The first installment, written by an international team of fifteen specialists, had been “assembled with difficulty”—a masterpiece of understatement. Of the line-up for the second, the Frenchmen, Germans, Belgians, and Italians were out of reach, the Englishmen immersed in

war work, and Eileen Power, Clapham's co-editor, was dead. "Whether this team can be brought together, or replaced, and when, one cannot yet tell."

The appearance of Volume II is evidence that it was done, and done quickly once the roar of planes over Cambridge ceased. It was no easy task, for Clapham died in 1946, three Continental contributors (Marc Bloch, Gunnar Mickwitz, and A. E. Sayous) were dead, two others were too ill to write the chapters they had promised, while "contact with scholars in Eastern Europe . . . proved difficult to establish and impossible to maintain." In face of such a casualty list, the only feasible plan—apart from shelving the project—was to close ranks, draw on scholars immediately available, abandon chapters for which no author was in sight, and ask the writers of the more general chapters to overlap into the fields which had thus been made vacant.

The second installment is therefore the work of only eight men—six of them British and two American. Consequently it departs still farther than did the first from the traditional *Cambridge History* practice of presenting a lot of brief chapters dealing with short periods, small territories, or circumscribed topics. It is built around two long essays, one by Professor Postan on the trade of medieval northern Europe, the other by Professor Lopez on that of southern. These chapters, occupying forty-five per cent of the pages, are prefaced by three shorter ones, in which Professor Gordon Childe deals with "Trade and Industry in Barbarian Europe till Roman Times," Professor Frank Maynard with "Trade and Industry under the Later Roman Empire in the West," and Mr. Stephen Runciman with "Byzantine Industry and Trade." Then come the long essays, which in turn are supplemented by three industry studies: of woolen cloth-making (by Professor Eleanora Carus-Wilson), of mining and metallurgy (by Professor John Nef), and of building in stone in western Europe (by Professor G. P. Jones). The development of towns, urban and gild policies, and economic theory are among the topics left over for the third volume.

Each of these six supporting chapters has its own value. The first two are welcome progress reports on the prehistoric and Roman imperial economies, though it is regrettable that they are not linked by a similar survey of non-Barbarian pre-Roman Europe. Runciman's picture of the Byzantine world is a godsend to those of us who, brought up in the Western tradition, have been worried by the contention of the late John La Monte and other medievalists that we teach medieval economic history back to front, from the wrong end, if we begin it with the manor, the rise of towns, industries, and other bits of the Anglo-German pioneers' stock-in-trade. Miss Carus-Wilson's textile study is a gem of a job, while Nef and Jones have won for the miner and the mason a permanent place in any list of *dramatis personae*.

Yet it is to the two essays that most readers will turn. For making these surveys, covering ten centuries of "continuous change and transformation," Professors Postan and Lopez are probably better equipped than any other living scholars. Their pentecostal gift of tongues lets them roam widely over the primary

and secondary sources in many languages. They are young enough to have escaped, or to be skeptical of, the early concepts and categories, especially those of the "economic stages" builders, to be aware of the call to search for quantities and measurements, and to be familiar with some of the questions which economic theorists are asking. On the other hand, they are old enough to be experienced researchers, whose labors have thrown light on some dark spots and suggested new approaches to old problems.

There is vivid treatment of some topics, such as Postan's account of northern "trade in general" (pp. 119-55) or Lopez' composite photograph of "southern medieval commerce and capitalism at its zenith" (pp. 320-38). But the outstanding feature of both essays is the attempt to trace the long-term trends of commercial activity, to draw a graph, through the thousand years. For the first half of it they tread cautiously, content to say that "there can be little doubt about the continuity of development between the fourth and seventh centuries," and that "the weight of the argument . . . appears to be against [Pirenne's] theory of a violent break in the eighth and ninth centuries" (pp. 159, 158). When, however, they get past A.D. 1000 they find the ground firmer, the view clearer, revealing "trade, like economic life in general, [entering] upon a period of rapid and general expansion" until the fourteenth century, only to be followed, especially between 1350 and 1450, by "a period of arrested development," of "secular depression," and of "several quakes which opened tremendous cracks in the edifice of prosperity erected in almost four centuries of successful economic expansion" (pp. 191, 338).

There is nothing new in this story of advance and retreat, save the comprehensive zest with which both authors have striven to reveal its character, causes, and consequences. Much admittedly remains unknown, diagnosis is often easier than measurement, and the "interplay of regressive and progressive phenomena forms a pattern so complicated" (p. 338) that sometimes it is hard to decide which way things were moving. Hence the last word has not been said, nor maybe the right one. There is room for a generation's research in all parts of Europe to fill in the gaps and test the hypotheses. Was the depression sufficiently "general" to justify the assumption of a common factor? Was it "all-European" and therefore calling for explanation "chiefly by all-European causes" (p. 343)? Was there "a sensitive world market [which] reacted quickly to crises in distant countries" (p. 342)? How careful must we be "not to overstress the dark side of the picture" (p. 345)?

Criticism of the book's coverage, whether territorial or topical, must be tempered by recognition of the postwar man-power shortage as well as by the hope that some important matters will be dealt with more fully in the next volume. Eastern and central Europe are scantily treated, southern Germany and Danubia get only a few pages, but the English story is told at excessive length, especially since much of the material is already accessible in books or articles.

University of Minnesota

HERBERT HEATON

DIE KATHARER. By *Arno Borst*. [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 12.] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag. 1953. Pp. xi, 372. DM 40.)

THIS is a notable book, worthy in every way of the distinguished series in which it is published. Happily fortified by copious references and the critical apparatus essential for a scholarly work of its sort, the elaborate essay is graced by a quality of exposition usually more characteristic of French than of German works and can be read with pleasure as well as profit. With its fine bibliography, the book seems to the reviewer to be not only the best critical evaluation of the Cathari but probably now the best introduction to the whole problem of heresy in the high Middle Ages. Borst's work will repay careful reading. Medievalists should not overlook it.

In the first of four chapters the author shows how writers from the chroniclers of the eleventh century to as recent an author as Runciman have interpreted and described the Cathari. Naturally sensitive religious leaders spoke out early against the heretical groups and numerous unsystematic, polemical writings flowed from theological pens following the appearance of the *Tractatus adversus Petrobrusianos* by Peter the Venerable about 1142. A step forward came with a new rigor introduced by writers of sentences and *summae*, as is seen in the work of a monk like Ekbert, later abbot of Schönaue, whose analysis of the Cathari led him to place them with the Manichaeans. The high point of Catholic attacks on the heretics began about 1230 with the production of numerous detailed, orderly, readable, systematic, scholastic analyses of anti-Christian and unorthodox practices. Salvo Burci of Piacenza, an Italian layman, gave in 1235 an astonishingly exact account of Cathari teachings in his *Supra Stella*, a reply to a heretical tract, only one example of retorts from other than ecclesiastical fronts. Certainly the *Liber de duobus principiis*, a Cathari tract written probably near Brescia between 1250 and 1280, simple, terse, and often lacking in clarity, has interest because of its origin. In Appendix III, of over fifty pages, Borst analyzes this document and supplies critical corrections for Dondaine's 1939 edition of it. Fluctuating, varying, and even contradictory attitudes toward the Cathari certainly are abundantly reflected in all literature dealing with them. All that is pertinent and that was available as late as 1950 has received the critical scrutiny of the author and his evaluations should be noted, if not always accepted.

In two long chapters, each about one hundred pages or more in length, the history of the Cathari is traced and their beliefs examined. It is, of course, impossible for any writer to separate the two elements, but Borst has done this so well that there is no obvious overlapping or needless repetition. By 1167 the shift from a stress on apostolic poverty is apparent with the introduction through Niketas of Bogomile dogma and ecclesiasticism into Western Cathari circles. It is not surprising that Innocent III was soon to recognize the danger from the Cathari as greater than that of Islam. The years following 1215 were ones in which the spread of the heresy was checked and the Cathari isolated and confined to certain areas. Its

flourishing was doomed when church and state allied against it and the inquisition took over. Borst marks its end in the south of France by 1244. Although the Cathari did not have a logically ordered, tightly wrought system, they did not, nevertheless, represent merely a sort of heterogeneous mixture of sects thrown together by the chance of history. For them, education was a useless luxury; humanistic interests were not their concern; nor were they philosophers, for their mythology would embarrass minds given to rigorous thought. Their role in the cultural history of their age was to challenge, stimulate, upset, rather than to add creatively to intellectual life. Borst sees in them and the whole Cathari episode, an attempt to unite unsuccessfully what was neither purely Western nor exclusively Eastern, neither a way of life nor a system of belief, neither dualism nor Christianity.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

ARCHBISHOP PECHAM. By *Decima L. Douie*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 362. \$8.50.)

A full-length biography of John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292), has long been a desideratum. There has been no previous work which brings together all available material on the life of the great churchman and presents it in adequate detail.

The task is not an easy one. For the period prior to Pecham's appointment as archbishop the sources are scattered and unsatisfactory, and even for the last thirteen years of his life there is little enough of descriptive material to afford an intimate picture of the man. He seems not to have caught the interest of contemporary historians; it is largely from his own writings—his sermons, poems, and treatises, written chiefly while he was student and teacher at Oxford, Paris, and Rome, and the considerable body of correspondence from his later years as archbishop—that knowledge of him must be gleaned.

It is natural that emphasis in the book should be placed upon Pecham's years as archbishop of Canterbury. But at first glance the disparity in the treatment of the earlier and the later years of his life seems excessive. Only one chapter is devoted to the first fifty years, during which he achieved a very considerable reputation as scholar and theologian, while eight treat of his activity as archbishop. One would like to know more of those earlier years, more about the influences which shaped his thought and molded his character. We are ignorant of the date of his birth, have no sure knowledge of his early education, and the chronology of his later productive years cannot be established with certainty. But for all this the sources are meager. There is more evidence for the part which he played at Paris in the debates between the friars and the seculars, and between the followers of the Augustinian tradition and the champions of Aristotelian philosophy. For these years Miss Douie seems to have squeezed from the sources all that they contain.

With Pecham's appointment to the see of Canterbury the picture becomes fuller. He comes to life as a courageous, tenacious, high-principled, imperious, and irascible churchman, who compromised with difficulty and yielded only to extreme necessity. He had sound ideas for reform of administration and personnel in his province, the need for which is made abundantly clear. But in trying to carry out his program he met the opposition of friend and foe alike, and his success was only partial. His attempted mediation in the Welsh war was a failure, but he did manage to do something toward the reconstruction of the Welsh dioceses when the fighting finally ended. Though there was mutual respect and esteem between him and Edward I, he had to strain to the limit his small powers of patience and prudence in countering the attacks of the king upon the property and jurisdiction of the church. But when the battle was over, in *Circumspecte agatis* he probably secured all that could have been expected, for Edward was a determined and skillful opponent.

All of this Miss Douie sets forth with adequate explanatory material. It is apparent that she knows her subject well, has exhausted the extant sources, and has taken account of the critical literature. Where in her interpretation she differs from other scholars she states adequately the grounds therefor. There are places, as in the discussion of the need for reform (chap. III), or the treatment of the expulsion of the Jews from England (chap. IX), where in her absorption with the background she seems to have forgotten the archbishop. A little less discursiveness and more attention to clarity of presentation would have aided the reader. A bibliography, including a list of the writings of Pecham, would have been a welcome addition. But such suggestions do not constitute serious criticism of the work. It is a good treatment of a neglected churchman and a solid contribution to the ecclesiastical history of thirteenth-century England.

Columbia University

AUSTIN P. EVANS

Modern European History

THE RENAISSANCE: A HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ITALY FROM 1304 TO 1576 A.D. By *Will Durant*. [The Story of Civilization: Part V.] (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1953. Pp. xvi, 776. \$7.50.)

THE reviewing of Will Durant's *The Renaissance* involves a certain amount of embarrassment for a professional historian, especially for one who feels strongly that history could and should be presented in a form that would be attractive and intelligible to the educated layman. Historians too frequently write for other historians, meanwhile regretting the fact that the lay public is left at the mercy of popularizers, toward whom their attitude is one of suspicion colored by gild snobbery. What then is one who deplores these tendencies of the professional historians to say when so popular a writer as Mr. Durant presents to the public a

handsomely made book, designed to do what no academic historian of this generation has attempted: to give the general reader a comprehensive picture of the Italian Renaissance? One would like to applaud vigorously, but one can in fact say only that, while the aim of the book is laudable, there must be some better way of achieving it. This is doubly to be regretted since the fact of its appearance may tend to discourage anyone else from attempting a similar task.

My objection to Mr. Durant's work is not only that it perpetuates a conception of the Italian Renaissance that has been greatly modified by the scholarly work of the past forty or fifty years, nor that the sources on which he leans most heavily date from the nineteenth century or the early years of the twentieth. A more serious objection is that it furnishes the thoughtful reader with very little clue to the causal factors at work beneath the façade of personalities in this crucially important age. It seems to me an insult to the intelligence of the reader to assume that he will be interested in nothing but personalities, while at the same time it is asking a good deal of him to expect him to maintain his interest in a host of miscellaneous individuals, most of whom are presented so briefly and superficially that no clear impression of their character or significance emerges. Perhaps it is Mr. Durant's method, which he describes as "the 'integral method' of uniting in one narrative all phases of human activity," that is at fault; for not all phases of human activity are susceptible to narrative treatment, and those that are not get scant attention here. The Italian Renaissance presents a great many inherently interesting problems, such, for example, as the relation of economic and social developments to contemporary cultural phenomena, and we may safely assume that an intelligent reader would cheerfully sacrifice a few anecdotes in favor of a little more thoughtful analysis of them.

Limits of space forbid any attempt to list the errors of fact as well as the more subtle distortions that even a casual reading will reveal. The following sentences, however, may be worth quoting as indicative of the general level of discussion:

It was under the Medici, or in their day, that the humanists captivated the mind of Italy, turned it from religion to philosophy, from heaven to earth, and revealed to an astonished generation the riches of pagan thought and art. These men mad about scholarship received, as early as Ariosto, the name of *umanisti* because they called the study of classic culture *umanità*—the "humanities"—or *literae humaniores*—not "more humane" but more human letters [p. 77].

New York University

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

PA LEIT ETTER LINER I HISTORIA: UTVALDE AVHANDLINGAR
UTGJEVNE TIL ÅTTI-ÅRS-DAGEN HANS. By Halvdan Koht. (Oslo:
H. Aschehoug. 1953. Pp. 197.)

THESE fifteen penetrating essays published in honor of Professor Koht's eightieth birthday have appeared in Norwegian, English, or German at various times during the last thirty years. They are representative of the enormous scope

of the author's scholarship. Yet—as the title indicates—there is unity in the diversity, for they all bear out the author's fundamental purpose: "That which gives historical research its value—or is at least one of its greatest values—is that we search out clear lines [of development], show the relationship between all the individual happenings, follow the growth in life on through the ages."

No attempt is made to review the articles individually. Seven deal with the history of Norway, and Professor Koht emphasizes that history has been an especially vital force in his country's progress in modern times: "Hopes for the future have been born of memories from the past." As in every other country there are two intertwining threads that can be followed: the internal-national and the general-European development. Thus in her early period of greatness, Norway, too, experienced the awakening national consciousness which, the author shows, was strong all through western Europe in the twelfth century. (See "The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe," *AHR*, LII [January, 1947], 265-80.)

The larger dynastic unions characteristic of western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were chiefly, Koht claims, the result of the ambitions of a denationalized aristocracy, and a new national development could and did come only through the rise of the lower classes, first the bourgeoisie, then the proletariat. The *Communist Manifesto* has been the text, so to speak, for the study of class conflict as the central factor in modern history, basic in the development of modern national consciousness, as well as of democratic national cultures.

In line with European development, the Calmar Union was possible because the nobility in the North had become Scandinavian instead of national. The result was most disastrous for Norway because she had the weakest nobility, and the effect was more lasting because there the rise of the bourgeoisie came much later. But the most distinctive fact in Norwegian history is the importance of the rural class which, now joined by the labor class, has been fundamental in the national and democratic development of modern Norway.

The author's wide range of research, his incisive, perhaps over-simplified conclusions and the originality and boldness of his approach, which make this volume stimulating reading indeed, have only been indicated in this brief review. As Dr. Koht looks into the future, he notes how the work of the historian has been expanding to cover an ever widening field and how it has changed in character as we have learned to appreciate the oneness of life. Rightly or wrongly, he gives the Marxists the credit for bringing to the fore the fact that all aspects of human activities are inter-related. The realization of this will increasingly influence history writing of the future. But the central theme must be society as a whole, which, whatever the form of government, is assuming an increasing control over the individual. This study will be broadened and deepened by taking into its service the new sciences of sociology and social psychology, and, "History writing is in itself a social act."

Northfield, Minnesota

KAREN LARSEN

VORE GAMLE TROPEKOLONIER. Edited by *Johannes Brøndsted*. Volume I, DANSK OSTINDIEN OG DANSK GUINEA. By *Gunnar Olsen*, *Kamma Struwe*, *Aage Rasch*, and *Georg Nørregaard*. Volume II, DANSK VESTINDIEN. By *Jens Bro-Jørgensen*, *Jens Vibæk*, *Fridlev Skrubbeltrang*, and *Georg Nørregaard*. (Copenhagen: Westermann. 1952, 1953. Pp. 665; 577. Kr. 550.)

To provide an authoritative text for this superbly illustrated two-volume work, its general editor, Johannes Brøndsted, head of the National Museum of Denmark, has brought together seven competently trained historical scholars. This able staff has exploited—one is almost tempted to say exhausted—the resources of Danish archives and libraries, not to mention foreign sources, to give a solid documentary basis to its work. Two talented artists, Ib Andersen and Mads Stage, have provided nearly 200 water-color sketches and pen drawings, the former on the basis of personal visits to the three main areas covered by the text. About 400 contemporary maps and illustrations, with many statistical tables, are scattered through the work. The combination of authentic history, carefully chosen illustrations, and a beautiful printing job, has given us an unusual de luxe work, welcome alike to scholar and bibliophile.

The Danish East Indian section consists of G. Olsen's "The East India Companies' Trade with India" (1616-1732); K. Struwe's "Trankebar under Company Rule" (1732-1776); and A. Rasch's "The Period of Greatness and Decline" (1777-1845) which closed with Denmark's sale to England in 1845 of her mainland colonies of Trankebar in Tanjore and Frederiknagore in Bengal. The first East India company was set up in 1618. To keep so distant an enterprise going so long and with such slender means to support it was no mean achievement. Every voyage involved the long journey around the Cape of Good Hope and was fraught with high mortality en route and death-dealing tropical fevers on land. Selection of governors and officials of integrity and good judgment often proved an almost hopeless business. The relations with native leaders were delicate, when these found themselves faced with a motley crew of uninvited foreigners whom they considered inferior to themselves. The hazards to trade of extended European wars were at times serious, though opportunity occasionally arose to take advantage of international confusion. British defeat of French forces in India in the Seven Years' War provided stability rather than great profits to the Danes. In their account of more than two hundred years of Danish colonizing effort in the Far East, the authors have thrown much new light on native life and customs, local economy, caste systems and religions, native-foreign relationships, and the operations of European competitors for trade and colonies.

Georg Nørregaard's contribution on "The Danish Establishments on the Guinea Coast" (I, 431-619) provides perhaps the most complete account in any language of the impact of a European state on the Guinea coast. Here again Danish interest began with Christian IV, who made two unsuccessful attempts to set up companies to trade with Guinea, American islands and mainland (I, 436-

37). It was after a successful trip to Guinea and the West Indies by Jens Lassen in 1654 that Glückstadt merchants, sailing with a fleet of four small vessels under Danish auspices, made the first lasting contact with the Guinea coast. They seized the Swedish station at Carlsborg, a dubious venture that caused such anger to Charles X of Sweden that it became a main cause for his renewal of the war with Denmark two years after signing the Roskilde treaty. Due largely to Dutch and English rivalry, Danish possessions were presently confined to an area in Orsu (Accra), to which forts and lodges at Christiansborg, Apam, and Fredensborg were added later. The Danes with other slave-buying Europeans had to deal with Negro tribes or groups such as the Fetu, Ashanti, Akim, Fanti, Akrong, Akwamu, and Adampi. This slave trade, carried on through the West India and Guinea Company from its reorganization in 1674, was at times profitable, though often menaced by high mortality in transit and by losses of ships at sea. When Denmark sold its Gold Coast interests to England in 1850 for a mere £10,000, it wrote "finis" to an episode that had lasted practically uninterrupted for 188 years.

Volume II is devoted to the Danish West Indies from their acquisition and settlement about 1670 to their purchase by the United States in 1917. The authors like those of Volume I, have succeeded in producing an authoritative general history—in fact the only one—of the area selected for study. Their account is also based largely on original documents many of which were quite unknown to scholars, and its lively style should appeal to any interested lay reader. The opening section deals with the early history down to 1755, on which the present writer published a monograph in 1917. It is both a pleasure and a duty to acknowledge the success with which the author has widened and deepened the scope of my pioneer effort. Thus Erik Nielsen Smit emerges from the shadows (*ca.* 1665–67) to qualify as the first functioning governor of St. Thomas (II, 4–10), prior to its temporary abandonment. He shows how the colony achieved its first modest success under Governor Johan Lorentz (1690–1702), and how early eighteenth-century planters became sufficiently prosperous under adverse conditions to demand and get a larger share in local government and even nominated successors to deceased governors and had them confirmed by the company's directors. The planters depended on New England and New York traders for food and provisions for themselves and their Negro slaves, and efforts from home to restrict this trade met their angry resistance. The decision of the company to liquidate its affairs and transfer the islands to the crown was in fact largely planter-inspired. With freer trade and increased initiative, planters and merchants were able to profit from England's struggle with her mainland colonies, and later from commercial opportunities arising from the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. During the American Revolution St. Thomas became the most important harbor in the West Indies. English occupation of the islands, 1807–15, ended that phase of their history, and abolition of the slave trade became a reality shortly after their restoration. Complete emancipation was achieved in 1848. American interest in the islands began during the Civil War. In the decades following its

close, a series of negotiations finally culminated in their purchase from Denmark in 1917.

A translation of large portions of these two informative volumes into English would be a distinct service to scholarship, and it might well appeal to a fair number of general readers.

University of California, Los Angeles

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

A SHORT HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT, 1295-1642. By *Faith Thompson*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1953. Pp. x, 280. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Thompson is well known to scholars for her original contribution to our knowledge of the history of Magna Carta, its uses and interpretations, from 1215 to 1629. In the present work Miss Thompson is writing for the general student rather than the specialist. "No attempt is made to discuss obscure points of origins nor to do justice to certain thorny questions," but Miss Thompson has incorporated into her general account of parliament significant results of the researches of H. G. Richardson, G. O. Sayles, J. E. Neale, Wallace Notestein, and many others. Since stubborn adherence to discredited views of parliament is to be found among American rather than British historians, what Miss Thompson has written still needs to be convincingly stated in this country.

To the informed historian it will be no surprise to find what Miss Thompson shows—e.g., that procedures and practices of parliament hardly ever developed as conscious innovations, that the continuity in parliamentary history was unbroken even in the Yorkist and early Tudor periods, that the transformation of parliament from a high court to a legislative assembly was a slow and barely perceptible process. Miss Thompson discusses the important role of lawyer members of parliament and selects for description particular sessions in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries.

Part of Miss Thompson's technique of presentation is to quote extensively from contemporary sources and from other historians. She has done this, I believe, with unnecessary frequency, for she amply reveals how effective she can make historical description in her own words. Her book is a less closely reasoned analysis of recent research on parliament than G. L. Haskins' shorter work, *The Growth of English Representative Government*, to which she makes no reference, but Miss Thompson's last chapter, on the Long Parliament, is, I think, her only unsuccessful one. In it, her short paragraph on the circumstances in Scotland which led perforce to the summoning of parliament is quite misleading; she does not deal with the Short Parliament; she seems to take Sir Simonds D'Ewes's role in the Long Parliament at his own evaluation; and, despite her long quotations from the Scottish observer, Baillie, and the modern historian, Trevelyan, the famous assembly does not really come to life under her treatment of it.

These and other criticisms notwithstanding, Miss Thompson has prepared a book with few errors and one which many will find very useful as an introduc-

tion to the history of parliament or as a partial summary of the last half-century of work on the subject.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

ELIZABETH I AND HER PARLIAMENTS, 1559-1581. By *J. E. Neale*, Astor Professor of English History in the University of London. (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: British Book Centre. 1953. Pp. 434. \$5.50.)

For nearly forty years Professor Neale has been interesting himself in the history of Elizabethan parliaments and has made many important contributions to our knowledge of the subject. His own work has been ably supplemented by the work of his students at the University of London. Indeed his Tudor seminar there may fairly be regarded as the focal point of nearly everything that has been done in Elizabethan history for the last generation both in England and in America. It will not be extravagant to say that he has done more than any other living English historian to draw English and American scholars into a fellowship in which, without national bias or private envy, they pursue together their common search for the truth.

Professor Neale published four years ago his first major work on the Elizabethan House of Commons (London, 1949). It was recognized at once as the standard work, indeed the only adequate work on the subject. In that book he was primarily concerned with parliamentary elections and parliamentary procedure, making abundantly clear the way in which the House of Commons was composed and the way in which it did its business. He has since turned to the story of the House of Commons in action and intends to trace its history, parliament by parliament, from the beginning to the end of Elizabeth's reign. The volume before us covers the period from 1558 to 1581, though in an introductory chapter it tells us more about parliament under Mary, Elizabeth's predecessor, than is to be found anywhere else. Neale promises later a final volume to complete the trilogy.

Whatever his original intentions may have been, the volume before us is confined to the relations between the House of Commons and the crown, with much attention incidentally to the relations between the Commons and the Lords. His story is for the most part the story of the perennial conflict between queen and Commons over the issues of religion, the succession, the queen's marriage, Mary Queen of Scots and, of course, finance.

This is the most dramatic aspect of Elizabethan parliamentary history. It was also the aspect most interesting to contemporary commentators, and particularly to the resident ambassadors of Spain and France. The sources of information about it are therefore more abundant. But it is not the whole story. Anyone who runs through the statutes enacted between 1559 and 1581 will discover that a great deal of attention was given in parliament to matters which did not present themselves as issues between the Commons and the crown. Some of them deal with the adminis-

tration of justice. Most of them have to do with matters economic, such as industrial organization, regulation of trade, poor relief, usury, tillage, prices—in fact with mercantilism at work. The most important law in the whole history of English mercantilism, the Statute of Apprentices, passed through parliament in 1563. Professor Neale has regarded these matters as falling outside his province. There is indeed almost nothing said about them in the official journal of the Commons, though it cannot be believed that in all this economic legislation there were not many conflicts of interests involved and expressed.

On the issue between crown and Commons Professor Neale is superb. He has not only drawn upon all available sources of information both in manuscript and in print but he has made important discoveries of his own, notably two manuscript copies of the fragmentary anonymous Diary for the Parliament of 1571, presumably the one which D'Ewes made use of, and the diary of Thomas Cromwell, covering the parliaments of 1572, 1576, and 1580–81, which Neale found at Trinity College, Dublin. Certainly these were finds of first-rate importance.

The significance of this will be apparent to the most casual reader. What will be less obvious to those who have not worked in desperation over the more familiar sources, is Neale's skill in interpreting the scant text of the official journals and in integrating it with scattered material drawn from all sorts of places. His chapters on the religious settlement of 1559 are particularly noteworthy in this regard. In these chapters he has presented an explanation of what lay behind the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity which throws an entirely fresh light upon the whole course of the Elizabethan establishment.

The best part of the book is that it is never dull. Neale makes his commoners live and never forgets that at a time when institutions were still uncrystallized it was the man who mattered more than the machine.

University of Pennsylvania

CONYERS READ

POLITICS IN THE AGE OF PEEL: A STUDY IN THE TECHNIQUE OF
PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION, 1830–1850. By *Norman Gash*.
(New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1953. Pp. xxi, 496. \$8.75.)

Mr. Norman Gash in his *Politics in the Age of Peel* presents both a sound analysis of the Reform Act of 1832 and a richly detailed picture of the turbulent politics of the generation which followed. Both the analysis and the picture point up the same theme: politics immediately after 1832 did not differ greatly from the politics before. Despite the fears of its opponents the act brought no revolution; and despite the enfranchisement of new towns and the ten-pound borough householder, political power still rested largely with the aristocracy and the landed gentry—the “static forces” of the old constitution. The aristocracy kept many family and pocket boroughs and the gentry profited from a greater county representation and the extension of the leasehold franchise.

Furthermore, in the turbulent politics which followed the Reform Act the

power of property and position still exerted itself through bribery, influence, and intimidation; or won out by capitalizing on family prestige, traditional allegiances, and local patronage. In his study of these varied techniques and local influences Mr. Gash goes to the grass roots of politics. The picture he paints as a result is rich in color and excitement, but hardly flattering to the early Victorians. Mr. Gash finds that the bribing and intoxicating of voters (which so shocked Mr. Pickwick at Eatanswill) were universal habits; that voters were frequently intimidated by economic coercion, social pressure, and threats of violence; and that shrewd local agents still reckoned as decisive the influence of county families, the aristocratic control of boroughs, and the persuasions of government patronage.

Mr. Gash reconstructs this world of practical politics with such scholarly care, wealth of illustration, and penetrating insight that criticism seems uncharitable. Yet the study has its limitations. The picture he draws lacks fullness and balance. His undue concentration on the family, pocket, and corrupt boroughs and on the techniques of bribery, local influence, and aristocratic control crowds out of the picture the growing power of the manufacturing and metropolitan boroughs and the energetic activities of such associations as the Anti-Corn Law League. The picture also lacks depth and significant generalizations. His analyses of local forces are, to be sure, penetrating, and his statements on the extent of bribery and influence sound; but he fails to weigh their importance in deciding the outcome of a single general election. Furthermore, by concentrating on local elections and tactics he does not deal fully with the broader issues and the deeper forces which govern political events. Nowhere does he analyze a general election, showing in its outcome the relative importance of great national issues, economic and social interests, religious passions, the press, and party alignments. But did not these factors, as well as techniques and local influences, form the basis of politics in the age of Peel? Was the Anti-Corn Law League stopped by the ingenuity of Conservative agents and the "static forces" of the aristocracy and the gentry?

University of Washington

DAVID ROBERTS

PRINTER TO THE HOUSE: THE STORY OF HANSARD. By J. C. Trewin and E. M. King. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. W. S. Morrison, Speaker of the House of Commons. (London: Methuen; New York: British Book Centre. 1952. Pp. xv, 272. \$4.50.)

THIS is an intriguing book, but difficult to review since the title is confusing, the subtitle, *The Story of Hansard*, having but tenuous relation to *Printer to the House*.

The book contains two stories. One is that of Luke Hansard, printer to the House of Commons, and of the firm which he established; the other is that of parliamentary reporting which, in the course of time, fell under the control of one of Luke's sons, not connected with the paternal firm.

Luke Hansard's career in some ways resembled that of Benjamin Franklin. A

poor journeyman printer, Hansard left Norwich in the last third of the eighteenth century to try his luck in London. By hard work, abstemious living, and intelligence he bought an interest in a printing business, became proprietor, amassed a fortune, and wrote an intimate and lengthy diary in the crisp, incisive style of Defoe.

Unlike Franklin, Luke Hansard was a church and king enthusiast, abhorring radicals, one reason doubtless why he was on such friendly terms with Wilberforce, the younger Pitt, and no less than eight speakers of the House of Commons. The printing which he did was exclusive of the parliamentary debates but covered all other official printing of the House of Commons.

Luke Hansard died in 1828, but the firm continued for decades under his son and grandson with many vicissitudes, not the least of which was a protracted lawsuit with Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

The history of parliamentary reporting is something else again, and this book gives a lively account of how Walpole and later George the Third tried to prevent publication of what was said in the House of Commons. We are introduced to Dr. Johnson, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and the haphazard methods of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century reporting, as William Cobbett took a journalistic hand at broadcasting parliamentary proceeding. Cobbett went to jail for publishing a libel, and T. C. Hansard, a wayward son of Luke, bought out the bankrupt Cobbett.

Concerning this particular Hansard the book has little to say. His *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* were only semiofficial; but they were well edited and for them he received an annual grant in aid. Finally in 1888 T. C. Hansard sold out to Horatio Bottomley, who continued to use the name Hansard, much to the annoyance of Henry Hansard, grandson of old Luke and owner of the family printing business.

In 1892 the word Hansard disappeared from the title page as the Stationery Office assumed responsibility. Then in 1908-1909 the House of Commons appointed an editor and subeditor, and in 1943 restored the subtitle *Hansard* to what Winston Churchill terms "the citadel of British liberty and the foundation of our laws."

Princeton, New Jersey

WALTER P. HALL

LA FRANCE DE LOUIS XIII ET DE RICHELIEU. By Victor L. Tapié.
[Collection "l'Histoire."] (Paris: Flammarion. 1952. Pp. 561. 900 fr.)

THIS volume, not intended to be a work of original research, represents an effort to summarize the entire body of information which historical science has thus far made available concerning the history of France during the reign of Louis XIII. Within these limits, the author has produced a successful though not a distinguished work. M. Tapié is well versed in the bibliography of his subject and ably leads the reader through a large body of highly diversified information

concerning many areas of human activity. And throughout his study, he gives appropriate nods of recognition to the accepted authorities on this period: Hauser, Pagès, Zeller, Mousnier, and others. The weaknesses of the volume are therefore largely those of recent historical scholarship and should not be ascribed to the author. The divisions of the book are those which historians traditionally have followed in treating this period: "Déclin et factions" (1610-24), "Relèvement" (1624-30), and "Raison d'état" (1630-43). And in each of these sections, the author attempts to treat the many and complex factors which impinged upon the growth of the French state: economic, social, religious, intellectual, diplomatic, and military. Throughout, the emphasis is upon the incessant labors of Louis XIII and more especially Cardinal Richelieu toward building a superior state system which would overcome its traditional weaknesses and would achieve predominance in European affairs. M. Tapié's approach to the period is well summarized in his statement which is reminiscent of Sartre and which was used in this instance as a publisher's blurb: "*Etre ou ne pas être. Il s'agissait de cela pour notre pays. Louis XIII et Richelieu ont choisi l'existence.*"

Because of the nature of the volume, any evaluation of it should be limited to an analysis of the author's weighting of his materials and the conclusions which he draws concerning the significance of the reign. The first two sections of the book stress the internal social, economic, and institutional weaknesses which stemmed from earlier periods and which Richelieu was obliged to overcome, or to ignore, in carrying out his ambitious schemes. His achievements are thus analyzed with constant reference to contemporary conditions, and the author shows clearly that Richelieu raised the French state to new heights only by violating many traditions and accepted ideals, and even at the cost of human suffering on a mass scale. This interpretation is a valuable corrective to the more traditional accounts of the period. The third portion of the work inevitably places greatest stress on foreign affairs, the author's specialty. Here, M. Tapié shows correctly how Richelieu's entry into the Thirty Years' War forced him to abandon his earlier schemes of domestic reform and to overtax the resources of the nation, all for the ultimate good of the state. The final emphasis of the volume is therefore that Richelieu's work, while precarious, costly, and incomplete, was nevertheless necessary and enduring. Somewhat less satisfactory is the author's handling of the intellectual forces in the period, since he fails to resolve or even to stress adequately the apparent dichotomy between the predominantly religious ideals of the age and the cardinal's overriding concern with ensuring the supremacy of the state. The volume contains a selected but valuable bibliography.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

ROBE AND SWORD: THE REGROUPING OF THE FRENCH ARISTOCRACY AFTER LOUIS XIV. By *Franklin L. Ford*, Harvard University.

[Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 280. \$6.00.)

THE nature of "aristocracy" in France in the eighteenth century is a matter of great importance, and equally important is the question of direction of movement, i.e., whether aristocracy was a growing or a declining force before 1789. From the influence of Tocqueville, with his emphasis on monarchical centralization, or of all those who since Guizot have related the rise of the bourgeoisie, or concentrated on the writings of the *philosophes*, it is easy to form the impression that aristocracy was a losing cause in France long before the Revolution. On the other hand, writers such as Mathiez and Lefebvre, reinforced recently by Martin Göhring in Germany, have seen a strong development of aristocracy in eighteenth-century France, culminating in 1788, in Göhring's phrase, in the "triumph of the *Ständestaat*"—though that proved to be momentary.

It is the merit of Mr. Ford's book to illuminate this issue squarely, with light drawn from both central and provincial archives, from printed materials both famous and obscure, and from skillfully applied sociological concepts on the structure of family, class, and government. The book is essentially a history of the "high robe," the members of *parlements*, between the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and the publication of Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* in 1748. The thesis is that these men of the high robe, who were definitely noble in 1715 (where they had been definitely commoner in 1614), soon after the death of Louis XIV won "the tactical and intellectual leadership" of the whole noble class. The nobility as a whole was heterogeneous, unorganized, scattered, internally in conflict, indifferently educated, and frequently poor. The high robe, on the other hand, enjoyed a corporate organization in the law courts, affording the advantage of frequent and private discussion of business; they possessed recognized legal powers; they had channels of communication both with the king and with the public; they were men of wealth, with holdings in the *rentes*, urban real estate, and commercial enterprises, as well as rural land; and they had far more education than the general run of nobles. Moreover, in an age when it was said that the king could make a man noble but it took four generations to make him a gentleman, the leading *parlementaires* were now gentlemen also. Increasingly the robe and sword intermarried. Aristocracy, in the sense which stresses martial virtues and pride of ancestry, combined with aristocracy in the sense of an elite class of public civil officials. Or, as Mr. Ford says, where in former centuries the general idea of the French nobility had been to escape from the royal laws, now, in the eighteenth century, the nobles came to realize that, for their own security, they must have more power to make the laws. Territorial nobles who had formerly disdained royal judges now supported them as spokesmen of their own cause. And the magistrates used their growing official powers, after 1715, to defend class privileges in which they now shared. Two old streams in French political thought flowed together: the old feudal tradition of hostility to royal power, and the old

traditions of *parlementaires* upholding a government from which their own power derived. It was the genius of Montesquieu to combine them.

As for adverse comment on Mr. Ford's excellent book, the worst that can be made is that it is pretty clearly a dissertation, still containing the self-conscious procedural statements of the thesis-writer, and perhaps not as well rounded as it might be. But certainly there is every reason why a few of the best dissertations should be published, without disguising their character as dissertations, lest we forget the standards to which this easily maligned species of literature can attain.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

FRENCH POLITICS: THE FIRST YEARS OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.

By Dorothy Pickles. (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1953. Pp. xii, 302. \$5.00.)

DOROTHY Pickles' latest book, like its predecessors published in 1938 and 1946, will be indispensable to all students of modern France. Nowhere else can one find so thorough a survey of political events and trends during the period 1944-1951. Mrs. Pickles tells us in her introduction that her study "makes no claims to completeness." To this reviewer, however, the astounding thing about the book is the amount of information which has been crammed into less than three hundred pages of text. This miracle of conciseness has been accomplished with no loss of lucidity or accuracy, though it must be admitted that readability has suffered somewhat.

Mrs. Pickles' purpose is "to describe and analyse rather than to make judgments," and to confine her attention to those issues and problems which are political in nature. Yet few issues in contemporary France are not political in some degree; and few problems can be analyzed without venturing certain judgments. Wisely, the author has interpreted both of her initial reservations in flexible fashion. Alongside the chapters on purely political topics, there are extended discussions of economic and social problems, of foreign and colonial policy. Indeed, her analysis of the new relationships between Paris and overseas France is perhaps the most complete yet available in English. She is also ready, on occasion, to express a cautious but clear-cut judgment of an institution, a policy, or a man. Thus, for example, her comment on M. Queuille's record-breaking ministry, which outlasted all others not because it solved any problems but merely because it "re-created a pre-war atmosphere in which it seemed less necessary to find an immediate solution for them." Or again, there is her forthright conclusion that immediate self-government for Morocco "would lead to administrative chaos or to medieval autocracy, or both."

Probably the most interesting chapter is the concluding one, "The Crisis of Parliamentary Government." Here Mrs. Pickles comes to grips with some of the current theories which seek to explain the Fourth Republic's weakness. "A

country politically divided, a failure of men, or of institutions—on which of these does the real responsibility lie?” She suggests that political division (as reflected in the dismaying strength of antirepublican parties) is primarily a result rather than a cause of French governmental weakness; that most of these antirepublicans would probably rally to a republic that worked. As for flaws in institutions, she readily concedes that there is plenty of room for improvement; but once again she doubts that the fundamental trouble may be found here. “The final word,” she concludes, “will remain, not with institutions, but with men.” Somehow, France’s postwar leadership has been found wanting; and somehow, Frenchmen in general have remained mentally “petrified” in the irrelevant attitudes of the past.

Those who want an easy answer to the question “What’s wrong with France?” will not be attracted to this book. Neither will those who are seeking a fresh and provocative analysis of France’s socio-political structure. But for anyone who wants a thorough, lucid, and fair analysis of recent French political history, Mrs. Pickles has provided a brief masterpiece.

University of Oregon

GORDON WRIGHT

THE MONGOLS AND RUSSIA. By *George Vernadsky*, Professor of Russian History, Yale University. [A History of Russia, Volume III.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 462. \$7.50.)

WITHIN the last decade two studies, one in German (1943), the other in Russian (1949), of the Golden Horde have appeared, and A. N. Nasonov in 1940 published a most informative account of Mongol-Russian relations. Now George Vernadsky, professor of Russian history at Yale, has added a work in English on this theme, as part of a “History of Russia.” Vernadsky, understandably, begins with a survey of the Mongol Empire, since this is the only way by which the Golden Horde can be put into its place in the stream of historical events. In this survey and in his description of conditions within the Golden Horde he depends extensively on the existing studies, whose findings he reports partly in a new arrangement and organization but only rarely taking issue with earlier interpretations, such as those of Pelliot (e.g., pp. 93 ff.), those of the reviewer (only on p. 319), and of others. It is clear that since all known sources have been used and since nothing new has been found, special scientific surprises are not to be expected in this field. Vernadsky, of course, has not neglected to examine the source materials anew, especially those in his Russian mother-tongue and, in addition, Oriental sources (almost exclusively, however, those that have been translated), and has made good use of them in his presentation. On the other hand, the Oriental sources that have not been translated, as well as the material in the Polish-Lithuanian and Genoese sources, have been used either sporadically or not at all. It can be concluded from certain lacks in transcription that the author is not very familiar with Mongolian, Syrian, and Arabian, and

the suggested derivation of the name Sheremetev from "Sarmatian" (p. 367, n. 80)—instead of Shīr Ahmed—as well as the Alan etymology (p. 17) do not bespeak an exact knowledge of linguistic problems.

The author's method is to treat first the political events of a definite, larger period (the Mongol Empire, the Golden Horde, the fall of the Golden Horde, and the resurgence of Russia) and then to examine the individual areas of the Mongol culture. Others have done this before him, and in such cases this method recommends itself—I might even say it is the only possible method. Along with the political development the reader obtains well-rounded pictures of the fundamental facts about the Mongols' concept of the state, their legislation, army organization, administration and internal policy, their social structure, and about the position of Russia. Thus, the social, economic, and cultural life of Russia itself in this period is put into the background more than might indeed have been desired in a history devoted especially to Russia (and not to the Golden Horde). Vernadsky promises to make up for this in the following volume; yet one can still question whether precedence should not have been given in this volume to the inclusion of these aspects of internal Russian life while still within the compass of the Golden Horde.

The book, of course, deals with the Golden Horde and the associated subject of the Mongol Empire not as its primary subject nor for their own sake but as the background of the history of the Russian people, whose fate for two and a half centuries was the Tatars. It does this, however, not in the exaggerated form set by the Communist party line that dominates the book by Grekov and Iakubovskii, whose work in this respect abandons historical objectivity and so to this extent cannot be regarded seriously. Vernadsky, on the contrary, strives throughout to see the effect of the Tatar era upon Russian life in its economic, administrative, military, social, and spiritual significance, and contributes a number of very worthwhile thoughts and important observations; although this extremely difficult problem is thereby still not entirely resolved. Further, his efforts to present the economic condition of Russia in the Tatar period appear important, in that he attempts a division of the Mongolian tribute districts in Russia (pp. 214–19), although, to be sure, the bases of calculation of centuries later do not seem to me so clearly applicable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as they do to the author. Also, I can accept only with reservations the calculation (p. 231) of a tribute of 85,000 silver rubles for the Grand Duchy of Vladimir in 1385 (already in the period of the decline of the Golden Horde), and the application of the word "democratic" to the constitution of the Russian cities in the pre-Mongol era (p. 345) seems to me to be unjustified.

These isolated details, of course, do not detract from the fact that Vernadsky has presented us with a survey of the present state of knowledge that is informative, well organized, and integrated into the context of Russian history, that is augmented by a series of individual observations, and that is well rounded off by an extensive bibliography, an index, and several outline maps (although these are

rather inadequate). The book will make available to new circles of readers, especially in the English-speaking world, the important events of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries in eastern Europe.

University of Hamburg (Germany)

BERTOLD SPULER

RUSSIA: A HISTORY AND AN INTERPRETATION. By *Michael T. Florinsky*. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1953. Pp. xv, 628, xxiv; viii, 629-1511, lxxvi. \$15.00.)

THIS accurate, scholarly, and extremely well written work covers the thousand years from the establishment of the Kievan state to the triumph of the Bolsheviks in 1917. It will certainly become the standard short history of Russia in English and will take its place beside Gittermann's volumes (*Geschichte Russlands*, Zurich, 1944-49) as the best of the short histories of that land. Mr. Florinsky has ably combined the findings of much of the best Russian and foreign scholarship with his own learning and mature judgment.

In his preface the author identifies his view of history with that of H. A. L. Fisher, who wrote that he saw in history no predetermined plan and that there is "only one safe rule for the historian: that he should recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen." Mr. Florinsky, then, unlike many others who have written Russian history, does not believe that the people about whom he writes were pawns of some "inexorable process of historical development," nor that certain Russian rulers were fulfilling something called "national destiny." And he does not subscribe to any theories about the nature and soul of the Russian people. Instead, he sees history as the reflection of the ambitions and weaknesses of the people who make it.

The success of these volumes is evidence of the value of this sort of interpretation. But in approaching his material Mr. Florinsky has, almost perforce, organized his book about the reigns of monarchs (the "Imperial Synthesis" in Russian history). As a consequence, he has either neglected or understated major themes in the unfolding of Russian history that transcended rulers and reigns; such as, to name only a few, the importance of geography, especially of the empty, fertile, and easily accessible lands to the south and east, the constant danger of invasion, or the struggle for power between the great lords and the gentry.

Other major shortcomings of the work are its treatment of social and economic history and the small amount of space given the period before 1500. Because the book's emphasis is upon political development including, in later chapters, foreign relations, the social and economic aspects of the nation's history are either subordinated, or, worse, are overlooked. This is particularly true of the first two sections, down to the eighteenth century, and though more attention is paid to social and economic history from that time on, much is still missed. A further consequence of the fact that this is history at the palace level is that much of the

economic and social material deals more with the history of policies than of institutions.

As to proportions, there are less than 140 pages on the 650 years from the beginning of the Kievan era down to the end of the fifteenth century (only 27 pages are devoted to the Kievan period). Mr. Florinsky excuses his sparse treatment by blaming the slimness and uncertainties of the sources but surely he has overestimated their inadequacies. To refer only to recent works in English, Vernadsky's valuable books on these early centuries make it clear that much more is known about them than might be gathered from this present work. The author can also be criticized for omitting (except for a few introductory pages) the pre-Kievan period.

The book contains some exceedingly well done characterizations of important figures in Russian history. The sketches of Ivan IV, Peter I, Peter III, and Paul I are especially interesting and are certain to provoke much discussion and disagreement. Mr. Florinsky portrays the first two as the savage and obscene men they really were and questions the value of their accomplishments. Of Ivan, for example, he asserts that the negative aspects of his rule were of more significance than the constructive ones (p. 207).

In the cases of Peter III and Paul the author argues that they have been misinterpreted and maligned and, possibly, has allowed his revisionist zeal to carry him beyond the limits of the evidence. To illustrate, he says of Peter III that his personal habits were no worse than those of his predecessors (faint praise, that!) and that he was deposed not because he was weak-minded but because he refused to be subservient to the Guards, the kingmakers of eighteenth-century Russia.

The brief historical essays in which major interpretations are discussed are a valuable feature of the book. In at least three instances, however, the author errs in naming lacunae in Russian historiography, in each case overlooking recent scholarship. He says that the scientific analysis of medieval princely treaties and testaments has been neglected, the only special study of this being published in 1858 (p. 72). L. V. Cherepnin has done exactly this, and done it well, in two volumes published in 1948 and 1951. Since the appearance in 1948 of B. A. Rybakov's book on the handicrafts of ancient and medieval Russia one can no longer say that next to nothing is known about the artisans of that time (p. 105). Finally, the industrial history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is no longer neglected (p. 712) as Roger Portal has shown in his review of Soviet work in this field (*Revue historique*, CCI, 1949) and by his own book on industry in the Urals.

Princeton University

JEROME BLUM

LA FORMATION DE L'EMPIRE RUSSE: ETUDES, NOTES, ET DOCUMENTS. By Boris Nolde. Volume II. [Collection historique de l'Institut d'Etudes slaves, XV, 2.] (Paris: Institut d'Etudes slaves. 1953. Pp. 408.)

VOLUME I of Nolde's posthumous work (reviewed in *AHR*, LVIII [January, 1953], 377-78) describes the process of absorption of the Kazan and the Ural area by Russia. The main topic of Volume II is the Russian advance to the Black Sea in the course of the eighteenth century.

Nolde starts with Peter the Great's policies resulting in the seizure and the subsequent loss of Azov; describes the Russian conflict with Turkey of the 1730's; analyzes the peculiar new organization of the army of the Zaporozhie Cossacks, which was a by-product of this conflict; then turns to the diplomatic aspects of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774; relates the destruction of the Zaporozhie in 1775, and the subsequent formation, out of the remnants of the Zaporozhie Cossacks, of the Kuban Cossack army; bares the tortuous story of the Crimean independence stipulated by the treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji of 1774—independence which the Tatar grandees did not want and which both the Turkish and the Russian governments constantly violated; studies the annexation of the Crimea and the colonization of the Pontic steppes. There follows an outline of the quasi-constitutional regime established in Bessarabia after its annexation to Russia in 1812, and of the Russian advance in the Caucasus down to the annexation of Georgia in 1801.

The protracted Russo-Turkish conflict of the eighteenth century led constantly to international complications. Because of this, Nolde has had to pay much more attention, in Volume II, to the problems of Russian and international diplomacy than he did in Volume I. As a result, Volume II is of great value, not only to the student of Russian history but also to those interested in the history of international relations at large.

While Nolde's discussion of the international aspects of the Russian advance to the Black Sea is adapted to the general plan of his study and therefore is arranged in sections alternating with the description of the Russian colonization policies and administrative problems, taken as a whole these sections contain a broad and masterful picture of the diplomatic history of the perennial "Eastern Question," interspersed with brilliant and penetrating remarks on the main *dramatis personae* then on the international stage—monarchs, diplomats, and generals.

There is only one important character whom, in the reviewer's opinion, Nolde fails properly to appreciate: the dynamic "Prince of the Taurida," Gregory Potemkin. For Nolde, he is just a "barbare magnifique." For a better balanced characterization of Potemkin the reader may be referred to Th. Adamczyk, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Potemkins* (1936) and G. Soloveytkhik, *Potemkin* (1938). (Neither of these works is listed in Nolde's bibliography.)

In every work of such wide scope as Nolde's present book, lacunae in both text and bibliography, as well as occasional errors, are almost unavoidable. This is especially true of posthumous publications. The following remarks are submitted not for the sake of criticism of Nolde's work but for the benefit of its readers. No full study of the relations between two powers—in this case between Russia and Turkey—can be written without the proper use of the sources of both sides. While

Nolde used a number of old Turkish sources available in translation, he was not familiar with the recent publications of Turkish scholars, such as Professor Akdes Nimet Kurat's important works. Of English monographs, the late B. H. Sumner's *Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire* (1949) should in any case be added to Nolde's bibliography; of Russian works, V. D. Smirnov's *Krymskoe Khanstvo v 18-m veke* (The Khanate of the Crimea in the eighteenth century) (1889)—Nolde used only Smirnov's first book dealing with the history of the Crimea up to the eighteenth century.

In spite of its occasional shortcomings, Nolde's work is of high scholarly integrity and of basic importance for the study of modern Russian history. The lack of an index of personal and place names is indeed regrettable, especially in view of the variety of the geographic and historical background covered.

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917-1923. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. Volume III. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1953. Pp. ix, 614. \$6.00.)

THERE seems to persist still the extreme positivist notion that objective scholarship requires nothing but an absence of personal preconceptions and a willingness to let the facts speak for themselves. Such a weakness of method, unfortunately, mars the imposing study of Soviet Russia undertaken as the climax of his scholarly career by Professor E. H. Carr and now complete in its first three-volume installment with the publication of the present volume on "Soviet Russia and the World."

Professor Carr appears to have no personal philosophy of history. His material, on the other hand, is naturally impregnated with the Bolshevik interpretation of events, while he has no standard of his own, save a certain implicit amorality, against which to judge it. As a result, Bolshevik concepts and explanations are absorbed almost unconsciously into the author's own exposition of events. This reviewer was shocked to encounter on the very first page of this volume the official Stalinist distortion (applying it to Russia) of Lenin's remark of 1915 about the revolution in one country.

Volume III of Professor Carr's history, designed to complement the internal politics and economics of Volumes I and II, treats in profuse detail and with meticulous scholarship Soviet diplomatic relations and Comintern activities during the chaotic six years after the revolution. Certain definite periods are made clear: cautiousness just after the October Revolution; a more revolutionary stand between the rival "imperialist" camps, during which the Brest Litovsk peace was concluded; a rapprochement with Germany from about May, 1918, until the German collapse; total diplomatic isolation and the first peak of world-revolutionary excitement, during 1919; then a steady trend toward normal relations with the outside world, temporarily interrupted by the war with Poland and the renewal of

revolutionary hopes occasioned by it, but dramatically reaffirmed with the "NEP" in foreign policy (the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement and the abandonment of revolutionary tactics for the Comintern).

The main thesis here is familiar—the Soviet leadership's "dual policy" of pursuing world revolution and national interest simultaneously. Professor Carr feels that Lenin, at least, saw no conflict between these aims, and that in reality such conflict was not usual. But the voluminous evidence here presented demonstrates the very early subordination of the fortunes of the world revolution to the security of the Russian state; it was in large measure to accomplish this subordination that firm Russian control was imposed on the Comintern from its inception.

The three-volume work as a whole, as Professor Carr explains in the preface to Volume I, is designed to be not a history but "an analysis of those events which moulded the main lines of future development." The reader, however, will not find an analytical study of institutional change, but rather a series of detailed presentations of the events themselves. To be sure, much general significance can be gleaned from the detail—above all, the compelling demonstration of the essentially "opportunist" or pragmatic character of the Soviet regime from the very beginning. In practically every respect, it seems—political, economic, military, or diplomatic—the policies of the Soviet leaders were almost completely devoid of long-range plan or ideological directive. But of such basic Bolshevik traits Professor Carr has little explicit to say.

The interest of Professor Carr's work is unnecessarily restricted by his not making it a general narrative history; odd emphases and omissions result from his attempt at an analytic approach. Particularly lacking is a connected account of the civil war and the intervention. The danger of distorted impressions and the degree of background knowledge which Professor Carr's presentation assumes unfortunately limit the principal value of his work to use by specialists, for whom it is unquestionably valuable.

Indiana University

ROBERT V. DANIELS

IN THE WORKSHOP OF THE REVOLUTION. By I. N. Steinberg. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1953. Pp. xiv, 306. \$4.00.)

MR. I. N. Steinberg, a Left Social Revolutionary, was the first Soviet commissar of justice. In fact, he remains, after the death of Stalin, the sole survivor of Lenin's first and only coalition cabinet, the one that included seven Left Social Revolutionaries in addition to eleven Bolsheviks. The twenty-one brief chapters of the narrative carry Russian history from the eve of the revolutions of 1917 to the Kronstadt rebellion in March, 1921, which marked, in the opinion of the author, the final break between the Soviet regime and the masses, and they also include an analysis of the "five types of Russian revolutionists," many eulogies of Social Revolutionary "heroes and martyrs," and a considerable amount of moral and political philosophizing. Mr. Steinberg has little to say about the revolutions

themselves, but he gives a very interesting account of the functioning of his commissariat of justice and in general of the struggle between the Left Social Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks within the coalition government. The book is attractive in appearance, and it contains a good index; unfortunately the publication is not without its faults, such as an arbitrary and confused system of transliteration and the practice of referring to Russian titles only in their English translation.

Although *In the Workshop of the Revolution* is by no means a major historical work and although it makes no fundamental addition to our knowledge of the first months and years of communist rule in Russia, it does possess some solid merits. Mr. Steinberg has an important and fascinating story to tell about himself and his Social Revolutionary colleagues in the coalition government, and he tells it well—with fervor and at times brilliance, if not in a comprehensive or an entirely convincing manner. Furthermore, the author's observations of Bolsheviks in action are often acute in general terms as well as supported by interesting detail: the most valuable parts of the book may well be those dealing with Soviet terror which is interpreted as a logical outcome of the communist view of the world. Finally, the uncommon viewpoint of the author, that of a Left Social Revolutionary, makes him bring into sharp focus things slighted in most other accounts of the period, such as the role of the peasant congresses or the fact that the revolution of February, and not only that of October, was quite bloody.

In the Workshop of the Revolution also has certain serious weaknesses. Some of them stem from the basic approach of Mr. Steinberg to his material, the approach which combines informality and lack of precision with moral earnestness and polemical zeal. Thus, on page 253 it is stated that "few" peasants availed themselves of Stolypin's legislation, and throughout the work the claim is made that splendid revolutionary justice (until subverted by the Bolsheviks) replaced the miserable tsarist legal system, while the reverse would be more accurate.

But the gravest failing of the book is in the point of view of its Left Social Revolutionary author. Mr. Steinberg favors terrorism—of quite a different brand from the communist variety, to be sure—and revolution. Indeed he favors the October revolution as well as the disbanding of the popularly elected Constituent Assembly where his fellow Social Revolutionaries, but of the Right, had a majority. Yet he wants to stand as a champion of "democracy" and all civilized values against communist "tyranny." No wonder that his pages on the Constituent Assembly are historically misleading and morally and intellectually lamentable.

State University of Iowa

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE INCOMPATIBLE ALLIES: A MEMOIR-HISTORY OF GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1918-1941. By *Gustav Hilger* and *Alfred G. Meyer*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1953. Pp. xiii, 350. \$5.00.)

THE troubled state of American-Russian relations has lately induced some historians and political analysts to examine the diplomatic dealings between Moscow

and Berlin in the interwar years with heightened interest and, occasionally, with preconceived notions. The most interesting, though not always convincing, treatise on the subject is E. H. Carr's volume of Albert Shaw Lectures given at the Johns Hopkins University in 1951. Carr noted in the preface of his book his special debt to Gustav Hilger, formerly second counselor at the German embassy in Moscow and now a resident of Washington, D.C. It is fortunate indeed that Hilger has been prevailed upon to put down some of his memories from the more than two decades he spent in dealing with Soviet diplomacy. He has had the effective help of an academic historian, Alfred G. Meyer, in the research for and the actual writing of the book; their co-operation was so close that the authors claim it would be very difficult to distribute credit for the different sections.

Gustav Hilger, a modest, kindly, and wise gentleman in his later sixties, possesses a remarkable memory and an exceptional grasp of East European problems. He has seen a great deal of history in the making. He knew the masters of the Kremlin well and observed Stalin intimately on various occasions. It speaks for the author that he tells of his experiences with frankness, even when this may not please his American readers; he admits, for instance, that the signing of the nonaggression pact of August 23, 1939, "meant the crowning of many long years of my efforts on behalf of good German-Soviet relations" (p. 308). Hilger enjoyed the respect of all his superiors in Moscow, from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, certainly a difficult man to get along with, and Herbert von Dirksen, who praised him in his own memoirs as one of the leading international authorities on Russia, to the ill-fated Count Werner von der Schulenburg. Even the arrogant Herr von Ribbentrop usually treated him politely.

In general, Hilger's memoirs offer a well-balanced picture of German-Russian relations during a critical period. His calm and precise treatment of the military collaboration in the 1920's deserves special praise. It will, of course, not satisfy those who would like to blacken Stresemann's memory by tying him closely to Seeckt's shady deals with the Soviet army. The volume, so crowded with details, contains only one slip: the Soviet government concluded its treaty of friendship and nonaggression with Yugoslavia on April 5, 1941 (not August 5, as stated on p. 326).

Bard College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

DIPLOMACY IN A WHIRLPOOL: HUNGARY BETWEEN NAZI GERMANY AND SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Stephen D. Kertesz*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 273. \$4.75.)

THE story of the international position of Hungary during and after the Second World War is told in a scholarly and restrained manner in this valuable study by a distinguished Hungarian diplomat. Part history and part memoirs, the care-

fully documented narrative draws heavily on the author's experience as the official in charge of preparing the Hungarian case for peace negotiations and later as secretary-general of his country's delegation to the Paris peace conference in 1946. The author shares with a majority of his countrymen a sense of injustice over the settlement of 1919 but shows unusual moderation in his choice of political methods. This moderation brought him a term in jail when the Nazis occupied Hungary in 1944, and a profound sense of frustration as an official of the Soviet-controlled government with which he finally severed his connections in 1947.

The value of this account lies in the vivid detail with which the author describes the effects on Hungary's domestic and foreign policies of the wartime and postwar relations of the Soviet Union and the Western democracies. The manner in which Soviet influence was used to place the Communists in power is ably shown, and the author describes Hungary's position at the peace conference as one of trying "to play cards if you do not have a partner and your opponents hold all the aces" (p. 184).

This account is also interesting as a case study of the problems of a defeated country at a peace conference. Faced with accusations of his country's responsibility for the war, the author saw it as his duty to present the best possible case for Hungary on the ground that his delegation "should not assume responsibility for the Hungarian nation above that which is absolutely necessary. To do so would be contrary to the best interests of the people" (p. 168). Like many other governments in 1946, however, Hungary was preparing for a form of negotiation that never took place. As it turned out, the postwar balance of power placed the fundamental issues beyond the area of negotiation, and only a few secondary matters were decided at Paris.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

ERZHERZOG FRANZ FERDINAND VON ÖSTERREICH-ESTE: LEBEN, PLÄNE UND WIRKEN AM SCHICKSALSWEG DER DONAUMON-ARCHIE. By *Rudolf Kiszling*. (Graz: Hermann Böhlau, 1953. Pp. 356.)

DIE NATIONALITÄTENFRAGE IM ALTEN ÖSTERREICH: DAS PROBLEM DER KONSTRUKTIVEN REICHSGESTALTUNG. By *Hugo Hantsch*. [Wiener historische Studien, Band I.] (Vienna: Verlag Herold, 1953. Pp. 124.)

In 1950 Professor Robert A. Kann published *The Multinational Empire*, a book which will remain the standard work on the nationality problem of the Habsburg Monarchy for a number of years to come, though one may disagree with it on some specific issues (see *AHR*, LVI [April, 1951], 568). Now two Austrian publications have appeared on similar subjects.

Quite a number of studies have been devoted to the heir presumptive to the Habsburg throne. General Kiszling, however, is the first who could build his

biography on the *Nachlass*, the unpublished papers of the archduke, a great bulk of archival material which Kiszling has used thoroughly indeed. Again one may refer to a study by Professor Kann, "Emperor William II and Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Their Correspondence" (*AHR*, LVII [January, 1952], 323-51), an article of limited scope which shows that in interpretation and penetration of the material one may go beyond what Kiszling has accomplished. On the other hand, Kiszling used one letter of the emperor, that of October 1, 1913, which apparently was not available to Kann; while the correspondence in Kann's article closes on a buoyant optimistic note, it here ends in a minor key: Berlin is upset by the Austrian policy (pp. 213 f.).

Since intimates of the archduke have written on him before, the general lines of his political thought as drawn by Kiszling offer nothing essentially new; but the shifting, unsettled character of his program is given more emphasis—for instance, in regard to the so-called trialistic concept in the planned reconstruction of the empire (pp. 221, 235 f., 250, 260). In matters of foreign policy it is surprising to find—though the archduke's antipathy against Italy was well known—that Francis Ferdinand, whose otherwise peaceful policy is again evidenced, seemed convinced that the empire would have to go to war against its partner in the Triple Alliance and to win back Lombardy and Venetia (p. 198).

The personal part of the biography is very careful and definitive, though not eulogistic. Francis Ferdinand's relationship with the chief of staff, General Conrad, who has been usually represented as "the archduke's man," is shown to have been problematic and changing. Once more Conrad's memoirs have proved to be an important source.

The most impressive contribution Kiszling makes is the evidence concerning the degree to which Francis Ferdinand allowed himself to be drawn into opposition to the ruling monarch. The conflict between Schönbrunn, the residence of the emperor, and Belvedere, the residence of the archduke, was certainly well known: some said that the Dual Monarchy had not only two parliaments but also two emperors. Francis Ferdinand's aide de camp referred to the archduke as the emperor's "most loyal opposition." Kiszling describes how the military commander of Budapest received definitely conflicting orders from the emperor and the archduke.

Professor Hantsch stresses, correctly, the unique character of the nationality problem of the Danubian monarchy. He emphasizes, again correctly, that such intellectual trends as national feelings which made for the dissolution of the empire proved stronger than the economic forces which worked for its unity. Like Professor Kann, Hantsch points to the crucial nature of the dualistic solution (pp. 60 f., 96), but, with more emphasis than *The Multinational Empire*, he stresses the deadly character of Dr. Beneš' attitude toward the monarchy after the outbreak of World War I. This reviewer finds himself here in agreement with Hantsch but is inclined to disagree somewhat with the praise given to the articles of the Austrian constitution granting each nationality "equal rights" (pp. 47,

52, 59); no one ever bothered to define which group of people formed a "nationality" in this respect nor what these supposedly equal rights actually were. Thus cases developed in which the conclusion was reached that each so-called nationality had on the basis of the constitution a right to a national opera house and—as a matter of course—to a university of its own, both to be supported financially by Austria. More space might have been given to a discussion of the ideas of those who dreamed of a "supernational" Austrian nation.

Based on wide reading in literature from both sides of the Atlantic and on the author's own experiences, Professor Hantsch's study is a very welcome contribution to the discussion of a vital problem of modern European history.

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918–1945. Series D (1937–1945). Volume V, POLAND; THE BALKANS; LATIN AMERICA; THE SMALLER POWERS, JUNE 1937–MARCH 1939. [Department of State Publication 4964.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953. Pp. lxxxvi, 977. \$3.25.)

AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918–1945. Serie D (1937–1945). Band V, POLEN, SÜDOSTEUROPA, LATEINAMERIKA, KLEIN- UND MITTELSTAATEN, JUNI 1937–MÄRZ 1939. (Baden-Baden: Imprimerie Nationale. 1953. Pp. lxxxv, 831.)

EVERY new volume of this well-known series is highly welcome not only in itself but also as an indispensable companion to the volumes previously published. For all the documents from captured archives of the German foreign ministry, though they have had to be divided and arranged according to certain topics and areas, constitute one whole and illustrate as such the general background of World War II. There is, however, one important difference between the present volume and the four which preceded it. While the latter covered German relations with the great powers, including the Austrian and Czechoslovakian crises which were indeed the most spectacular events of the period from 1937 to March, 1939, the fifth volume deals more particularly with German relations with the so-called smaller nations. But the first chapter, "Poland and Danzig: September 11, 1937–March 14, 1939," contains documents which are as important as those published in the earlier volumes, since they set "the scene for the crisis in German-Polish relations which was to bring war on September 1, 1939." Without, therefore, entering into any details regarding the other chapters, it might be interesting to point out some of the conclusions which can be drawn from the 140 new documents referring to the origin of that German-Polish crisis.

The tension between the two powers started much earlier than usually is supposed: well before Munich and soon after the German-Polish nonaggression pact

of 1934. Already in May of the following year, 1935, the German government raised the question of an extraterritorial *Autobahn* through the so-called Corridor, a claim which in addition to the well-known problems of Danzig was to prove the main stumbling block in the negotiations which immediately preceded the outbreak of the war. In general, the reports of that experienced old-school diplomat and keen observer, the German ambassador in Warsaw, Hans Adolf von Moltke, are among the most revealing papers in the whole volume. They give ample evidence how wrong it is to speak of a pro-German attitude of Poland during all these years. Moltke repeatedly warned the German foreign office that in Poland powerful forces of both the Left and the Right "have never ceased to promote animosity against the Third Reich for one reason or another," and that not even all members of the government nor the military leaders were "participating wholeheartedly in Beck's policy" (no. 53).

Even more striking are the indications that Beck's own program, long before his trip to London which is discussed in the last document (no. 140), was turning more and more against the German conception of a new order in Central Europe. Quite recently J. A. Lukacs, in *The Great Powers and Eastern Europe* (New York, 1953), though he could use only the earlier volumes of the series, has rightly stressed that by favoring a common Polish-Hungarian frontier Beck hoped to create "a strong bloc of anti-Communist but not necessarily pro-German states" including also Yugoslavia, a "barrier idea" which Hitler did not like at all. Various documents published in the present volume (see for instance, nos. 67, 76, 80, 83, 87) confirm that this was a major reason for the growing Polish-German tension, especially as Beck tried to gain even Rumania and possibly also a really independent Slovakia for that conception.

German diplomacy was even more alarmed by the apparent improvement in Polish-Russian relations, as described in Count von der Schulenburg's report from Moscow, of December 3, 1938 (no. 108). Furthermore, a memorandum of Ribbentrop himself, written after his conversation with Beck in Warsaw, on January 26, 1939, shows his disappointment that Poland continued to reject any idea of "a treaty with Germany directed against the Soviet Union" and even of "an adherence to the anti-Comintern powers." And he added: "I condemned the passivity of M. Beck's attitude and stated that it was more expedient to anticipate the development he had predicted and to take action against the Soviet Union by propaganda" (no. 126). Whether he himself already anticipated what Germany would do in view of Poland's persistent refusal is of course another question.

On this and many other occasions the information contained in these new documents must be checked against other collections of diplomatic papers, especially the Polish White Book, as the editors time and again suggest in their footnotes. But the value of the additional material which they have made available can hardly be overrated.

Fordham University

O. HALECKI

HITLER'S SECRET CONVERSATIONS: HIS PRIVATE THOUGHTS AND PLANS IN HIS OWN WORDS, 1941-1944. With an Introductory Essay on THE MIND OF ADOLPH HITLER, by H. R. Trevor-Roper. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953. Pp. xxx, 597. \$6.50.)

THIS volume represents a complete translation of the *Bormann-Vermerke*, notes on Hitler's after-dinner remarks to the staff and guests at his two eastern headquarters, Rastenburg and Winnitza, dating chiefly from the period July 5, 1941, to September 7, 1942. After the latter date Hitler, increasingly distrustful of the high officers around him, put an end to the regular table talks, which had been recorded in shorthand and transcribed daily under the supervision of Martin Bormann. The present edition, however, also includes some brief fragments from various dates between June, 1943, and November, 1944. An editorial note points out that the volume of *Hitlers Tischgespräche* published by Dr. Henry Picker (Bonn, 1951) comprises only about one half of the notes here presented.

Unlike the "situation reports," edited by Felix Gilbert (*Hitler Directs His War*, New York, 1950), these table talks are only in small part concerned with military questions. Here we read Hitler's personal and political recollections, notions of history, ideas for the future, and informal reactions to current events. Since these monologues are not, as in the Picker edition, dissected and regrouped topically, the reader may form his own opinion of the pleasure of Hitler's company from the continuous flow of the dictator's conversation. One moment the speaker is lecturing on the education of chauffeurs, the next informing his grateful hearers that St. Paul's real name was Saul of Tarsus, or again, announcing that "nowadays humanity depends basically on the whale for its nourishment with fats."

There are also, of course, some interesting biographical data and revealing asides; but the amount of news in all this should not be exaggerated. At least as interesting as the text is the introductory essay in which H. R. Trevor-Roper characterizes the volume as "the self-revelation of the most formidable among the 'terrible simplifiers' of history, the most systematic, the most historical, the most philosophical, and yet the coarsest, cruelest, least magnanimous conqueror the world has ever known." Mr. Trevor-Roper is indignant at historians—historians in general, it would appear—for describing what Hitler did but evading the question of how he was able to do it. Worst of all, he charges, they practically ignore the mind of Adolf Hitler because they find it unattractive.

As an admirer of Mr. Trevor-Roper's book, *The Last Days of Hitler*, I now find myself rather bewildered by his vehemence, which seems neither consistent with his earlier analysis nor altogether fair to his colleagues. (At any rate, interest in Hitler's mind has not been wholly lacking: four years ago, in *Hitler Directs His War*, Felix Gilbert too invoked the telling image of "the terrible simplifier.") It is possible, is it not, to accept Hitler as a major figure, a frighteningly effective performer under certain conditions, without seeing in his thought, as such, any-

thing particularly subtle or complex? Are not the conditions still the crux of the problem? It seems not unfair to point out that one of the most valuable of Mr. Trevor-Roper's past contributions to the history of the Third Reich has been unusual insight into the power of action itself, of hypnotizing, self-convinced oratory proceeding from a few crude notions. In themselves, Hitler's table talks are the pontifications of a rancorous, egotistical *Kleinbürger*, reveling in the attention of a captive audience. They offer one more cause for gratitude that the Axis lost the war, but they do not suggest that historical emphasis should be shifted from the techniques of National Socialism to the philosophy of its Führer.

Harvard University

FRANKLIN L. FORD

THE ROMMEL PAPERS. Edited by *B. H. Liddell Hart*. With the assistance of *Lucie-Maria Rommel*, *Manfred Rommel*, and General *Fritz Bayerlein*. Translated by *Paul Findlay*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1953. Pp. xxx, 545. \$6.00.)

THE papers of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel which survived World War II have been arranged chronologically for the period from May, 1940, to October, 1944, and edited in a fashion which emphasizes their authenticity. Most of the book consists of Rommel's narratives of his campaigns within this period. Rommel's son explains how all his father's papers were concealed, which of them were saved, and which were either lost or destroyed. The gaps in the narrative have been filled either by a former subordinate, General Bayerlein ("Winter Campaign, 1941-1942" and "Invasion—1944"), or by Rommel's son ("Italy, 1943" and "The Last Days"). These four sections written by others also contain insertions from Rommel's notes and letters, as do his own narratives in the form here given. All have been translated into somewhat colloquial English. The editor has supplied introductory notes and explanatory passages of value, and holds the copyright. Photographic illustrations are culled from Rommel's own large collection. The book is very successful in both attempting to hold a reader's lively interest and exhibiting Rommel as an admirable military figure.

How reliable is it? Certainly some of the papers are primary sources. Rommel's almost daily letters to his wife and entries from a diary which he dictated to an aide are frequently reproduced. These letters have been rather freely translated and have been subjected to deletions which are often not indicated. Some of the deletions consisted of Rommel's comments on men and events. Some messages and official reports are quoted at length in the narratives. Among them is Rommel's warning to Hitler, dated July 15, 1944, which Lt. Gen. Hans Speidel has described (*Invasion, 1944* [Chicago, 1950], pp. 115-16) as bearing a postscript in Rommel's own handwriting. As printed here, the purport of the postscript appears as an integral part of the document which Speidel drafted. The liberties taken with these primary documents may involve no distortions of meaning but, by masking any changes, the editor has created a general uncertainty.

Rommel's lengthy narratives of his campaigns were completed when action was light or when he was convalescing from illnesses. The reviewer has compared one sample with official records originating in Rommel's headquarters and with other pertinent evidence. The merits and weaknesses characteristic of such military accounts are exhibited. In describing the Axis attack in central Tunisia which began on February 14, 1943, Rommel ignored the American counterattack made next day. He disregarded an important feature of the Axis plan, that elements of the 21st Panzer Division would shift from the first battle area after a victory there in order to come under Rommel's control for an attack in the Gafsa area. He referred to a success by that division at Sbeitla when he must have meant at Sidi bou Zid. He wrongly identified one of the units under his own command. He also wrongly identified the American division which met the first attack on February 14. The editor corrects this fault but himself contributes to confusion by erroneously attributing the defense of Kasserine Pass to the U.S. 34th Division and by ignoring that unit's part in the defense of Sbiba gap. Although none of these errors may be major, they are a substantial offset to the great value of Rommel's record of his movements, thoughts, and decisions. Concerning strategic and tactical problems, Rommel presents his own position vigorously and seems less than fair to General von Arnim, as he does elsewhere to Kesselring. In regard to both factual details and broader topics, *The Rommel Papers* must be used with caution.

As a rising military commander, husband and father, and German patriot, Rommel appears to great advantage. After discounting the tendency of documents written and edited as these have been to place Rommel in the best possible light, a reader must yet conclude that Rommel's military distinction was earned and that his personal qualities invite respect.

Washington, D.C.

GEORGE FREDERICK HOWE

STORIA DEL FASCISMO: L'ITALIA DAL 1919 AL 1945. By *Luigi Salvatorelli* and *Giovanni Mira*. (Rome: Edizioni novissima. 1952. Pp. 1040. L. 4000.)

STORIA DEI FUORUSCITI. By *Aldo Garosci*. (Bari: Laterza. 1953. Pp. 310. L. 1400.)

For the first few years after the fall of Fascism and the end of the Second World War, Italian historians seemed unable to come to grips with the twenty-year experience of tyranny from which they had just emerged. The memory of its specific acts of oppression was too obsessive, and the experience of liberation too equivocal, to permit the sort of broadly focused view that might embrace the whole era in a fresh synthesis. In the ideological struggles and disappointments incident to the consolidation of the post-Fascist regime, historical writing almost necessarily became highly personal—witness the flood of memoirs and of apologies. The result was a considerable contribution to belles-lettres and to the raw

material of history, but little true historical writing. Nearly ten years after the fall of Mussolini, the basic works on the Fascist era remained the same as a decade and a half earlier—the impressively documented, if frankly polemical, writings of such émigrés as Salvemini and Rossi (Angelo Tasca), all dating from the middle and late 1930's and nearly all (in their English edition) out of print.

In the past year and a half, this historical gap has at last begun to be filled. Luigi Salvatorelli, one of the most respected of Italy's older historians and a Liberal in the major parliamentary tradition, in collaboration with Giovanni Mira has brought out a massive volume that will doubtless rank for years to come as the standard handbook on the Fascist era. In more than a thousand pages of closely printed, double-column type the authors have compressed material that in ordinary form would run to several volumes. The sources they have used are the obvious ones—newspapers, the accounts of participants, official Fascist reports, and the critical works of émigré scholars. In some of the sections dealing with economic and military policy they have in addition incorporated contributions by more specialized writers. The volume lays no claim to being definitive: in the words of its authors it is “nothing more than a preliminary organization of historical material on Fascism designed to furnish an adequate foundation for subsequent researches and expositions.”

Within this modest framework, however, the authors have accomplished a most useful service. Their book provides not only a clear running account of the major events of a quarter century of Italian history; it offers detailed topical outlines of the development of corporative institutions, of church-state relations, of the gradual degradation of the monarchy, and of the activities of the opposition abroad and at home. Omissions and questionable interpretations are few: one notes the absence of a discussion of those figures in the cultural life of the country (Pirandello and the like) who remained largely uninfluenced by the regime; one might ask for a more critical analysis of Mussolini's social legislation and a less hortatory tone in the sections on the war. But basically the volume accomplishes its purpose.

A second recent work on the Fascist period, Aldo Garosci's *Storia dei Fuorusciti*, is slighter in scope. Yet as a discussion of the anti-Fascist emigration it necessarily encompasses the whole era from Mussolini's accession to his fall. Readers familiar with Garosci's earlier *Vita di Carlo Rosselli*, published in 1945, will recognize the defects and strong points of his writing—a tendency to confuse his account with an overabundance of names, to lose himself in the re-evocation of doctrinal disputes of slight contemporary interest, and to concentrate too uncritically on the career of Rosselli—all this, however, combined with a clarity and compactness of expression and a sure grasp of the permanent significance of the anti-Fascist experience. In the latter sense, Garosci's new book marks a distinct advance over his earlier work: he presents more persuasively than before Rosselli's historical claim to unique importance in that the founder of *Giustizia e Libertà*, in contrast to nearly all the other exiles, saw that Italian anti-Fascism could ultimately succeed only if it established itself as an *independent* force in international

politics. And Rosselli's failure in the supreme opportunity and test—the Spanish Civil War—and the resulting Communist preponderance in the emigration, Garosci shows to have been the decisive developments that virtually dictated the course of the Italian resistance movement during the Second World War.

Salvatorelli's and Garosci's books are the first important reinterpretations of Mussolini's Italy in the light of ten years of subsequent history. These, however, doubtless are only the beginning of a succession of forthcoming studies and re-evaluations. To date there has not even appeared an adequate biography of Mussolini (since Megaro's splendid work on the Duce's early career has remained without a sequel). But in another sense the writings of such men as Salvatorelli and Garosci mark an end rather than a beginning: they are still of the generation of conscious anti-Fascists; even Garosci, far younger than Salvatorelli, in this respect ranks as of the old school. Within Italy there is obviously growing up a new generation of young scholars, relatively untouched by the experience either of Fascism or of the struggle against it. It will perhaps be left to them to define how the new Italy—a parliamentary democracy, it is true, but far different from the Italy dreamed of by the emigration and the resistance alike—will at length come to terms with its own immediate past.

Stanford University

H. STUART HUGHES

VENTI ANNI DI VITA POLITICA. By *Luigi Albertini*. Parte prima, L'ESPERIENZA DEMOCRATICA ITALIANA DAL 1898 AL 1914. Volume I, 1898-1908; Volume II, 1909-1914. Parte seconda, L'ITALIA NELLA GUERRA MONDIALE. Volume I, LA CRISI DEL LUGLIO 1914, LA NEUTRALITÀ E L'INTERVENTO; Volume II, DALLA DICHIARAZIONE DI GUERRA ALLA VIGILIA DI CAPORETTO (MAGGIO 1915-OTTOBRE 1917); Volume III, DA CAPORETTO A VITTORIO VENETO (OTTOBRE 1917-NOVEMBRE 1918). (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore. 1950-1953. Pp. xxx, 501; 518; 579; 597; 566. 1500 lire for each vol. of first part; 2000 lire for each vol. of second part.)

THE name of Luigi Albertini (1871-1941) deserves a high place among the pre-eminent figures of contemporary Italy. As publisher and editor of the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan, he transformed that paper into one of the foremost organs of European public opinion, comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, to *The Times* of London and the *New York Times*, until it was shorn from him by totalitarian Fascism; yet such was the impress that the force of his character and intellect left on the *Corriere* that it remained even during the Fascist regime and it remains to this day the best newspaper in Italy.

Once divested of the *Corriere*, Albertini—as some Americans, including the reviewer, and many more Englishmen well remember—labored valiantly (he was virtually an exile, *in Italy*) to keep alive those forces of liberalism and democracy which would brook no compromise with totalitarian Fascism, firm in the convic-

tion that those forces would eventually prevail over the onslaughts of totalitarianism whether of the Right or of the Left. Moreover, during his enforced isolation from public life, well-nigh unbearable to a man of his temperament, he carved out two new careers for himself—that of agriculturist and that of historian. In the former capacity, he directed a remarkable agricultural development in the Roman Campagna, and in the latter he wrote a cardinal work on the origins of the First World War (reviewed in this journal, LIII [April, 1948], 539-40, and now being translated into English) and the five partly autobiographical, partly historical volumes before us covering the years from 1898 to 1918.

These volumes, based firmly on the collection of the *Corriere* and on the author's vivid recollection of events in which he was closely involved, are of the first importance and should find their way into every respectable historical library. To one who has studied the period in question from another angle of vision, Albertini may seem to give undue emphasis to political factors in the more or less orthodox sense, but considering the paucity of good secondary works on highly controversial aspects, and even the chronicle itself, of Italian political history, this very emphasis may be accounted a virtue, the more so in view of the author's exceptional authority and equipment. With respect to a goodly number of issues and personalities, his resolute and searching attitude will command serious attention even while it may provoke sharp disagreement. The tone throughout is dignified, at times nostalgic and generous, at times severe and merciless. And, it is pleasant to record, the narrative is singularly free of the fatuity and the insipid anecdote that mark so many autobiographical or semiautobiographical writings.

It may be regretted that Albertini does not deal with the postwar period and the advent of Fascism to power, as he had been strongly urged to do, even at the sacrifice of his work on the origins of the First World War; but he doubtless had compelling reasons for choosing to devote his remaining energies to the manuscripts that have now found their way into print and to other equally worthy causes. The absence of two or three retrospective volumes on the postwar period is not pure loss, however, for there is extant a considerable amount of material on the role he played and the judgments he held in connection with the "Fascist Revolution." Meanwhile, and quite apart from strictures, qualifications, and reservations that occur to us and cannot be explained in a brief review, let us be grateful for the testimony that one of the sturdiest heirs of the Cavourian tradition and one of the first citizens of the Third Italy has left us of the domestic and international vicissitudes of the "last phase of the Risorgimento."

Queens College

GAUDENS MEGARO

L'EUROPE EN FACE DE SON DESTIN. By *Edouard Bonnefous*, Professeur à l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Député, ancien Ministre. Preface d'*André Siegfried* de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1952. Pp. 386. 900 fr.)

EDOUARD Bonnefous treats the problem of European unity with the authority of both a trained scholar and an experienced statesman. He is professor, co-editor with André Siegfried of *L'année politique*, member of the consultative assembly of the Council of Europe, and the author of the Bonnefous Plan for a European Transportation Authority.

Although M. Bonnefous is an active partisan of European unity he marshals and analyzes the essential facts and the contending opinions in a critical and balanced fashion. He is critical of particular American, British, and German policies and practices but his treatment is always fair, measured, and objective. He does three things in this volume: summarizes the historical and cultural bases of Europe and the attempts made in history to realize European unity; analyzes the principal contemporary economic, financial, and political problems of Europe; and analyzes and evaluates the recent developments in the direction of integration. Relevant documents are printed in the Annexes.

The history of individual precursors of the "European idea" is admirably summarized to 1914. The story from 1919 in a Europe "more fragmented than ever" is handled in considerable detail. The author gives a vivid and minute description of Europe's "tragic" economic situation after World War II, showing how the "anguishing" problem of the dollar deficit made 1947 the crucial year. The Economic Council of Europe, the Marshall Plan, and the European Organization of Economic Cooperation are ably and sympathetically presented and the Marshall Plan is called an "incontestable success," though the expected European co-ordination and integration did not materialize. He points out that the relative stabilization reached by 1950 was shattered by the war in Korea.

The history of the revival of the "European idea" during and after the war makes interesting reading in brief historical retrospect. By 1948 even governments were beginning to get interested. First came the Brussels Military Pact, followed by the Council of Europe with its consultative assembly and committee of foreign ministers. The great hopes associated with the latter were dissipated in a "profound disillusionment." M. Bonnefous outlines the conflict between the two organs of the council and calls attention to its constitutional and political limitations. The history of the Coal-Steel Community is well told. The development of the European Defense Community and the problems associated with it are carefully stated and assessed; significant differences between the Pleven Plan and the ultimate EDC treaty are pointed out.

M. Bonnefous recognizes the opposition of Great Britain as the major obstacle to a United Europe. British abstention, he writes, is "profoundly regrettable," for British participation is "indispensable to counterpoise the demographic and economic expansion of West Germany" (p. 241). He continues: "The German problem presents the greatest difficulty facing European organization at the same time that it makes this organization indispensable." His final paragraph reads: "The most urgent task consists in restoring to Europeans their confidence in their

destiny. The future of Europe depends in a very large degree on its will, its faith, its certainty in the permanence of its future. To establish Europe is not to erect one imperialism against another. It is to discipline a continent, it is to defend a certain concept of man."

Macalester College

HUNTLEY DUPRE

Far Eastern History

JAPAN'S NORTHERN FRONTIER: A PRELIMINARY STUDY IN COLONIZATION AND EXPANSION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RELATIONS OF JAPAN AND RUSSIA. By *John A. Harrison*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 202. Cloth \$4.75, paper \$3.75.)

THE strategic consequences of Russia's post-World War II acquisition of the Kuriles and Sakhalin has belatedly brought to American attention the existence of a little-known diplomatic frontier north of Japan. Russo-Japanese rivalry off the northeast coast of Asia has been long and at times intense. The strategic and economic stakes involved have been consistently underestimated by all except the Japanese and Russians.

In actuality this book deals with two frontiers. The first, a political one involving the clash of Russian and Japanese interests principally in the Kuriles and Sakhalin, is briefly covered down to the boundary agreement of 1875, at which time Japan traded her claims on Sakhalin for full possession of the Kuriles. The story has been ably handled by a number of Japanese scholars but has needed telling in English. It is on the second, the colonial, frontier of Hokkaido that the book places its principal emphasis. While Dr. Harrison's treatment of this frontier in its early centuries, especially his attempt to demonstrate the effect of the colonial northland on Japanese political structure, is at times open to question, he reaches firmer ground as he approaches the Restoration, and makes a real contribution in his concluding description of the attempt of the Meiji government to colonize Hokkaido systematically under the *Kaitakushi* between 1868 and 1881. It was a venture which, as Professor Harrison points out, brought out in relief the many complex problems faced by new Japan—the attempt to modernize with untrained men and insufficient capital, the desire to obtain foreign aid and advice in the face of the extreme national pride of the Japanese, the dichotomy between defense considerations and possibilities of economic exploitation. Americans will read with interest the account of the United States mission to Hokkaido (1871-75) headed by Horace Capron, commissioner of agriculture under President Grant.

All in all, this is a timely monograph, carefully documented, and noteworthy for its use of Japanese sources and papers in the library of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Appendixes containing a note on the Western discovery of Hok-

kaido, the texts of early Japanese treaties with Russia, and an annotated bibliography will be of use to the specialist.

University of Michigan

JOHN WHITNEY HALL

American History

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volumes II and III, PHILOSOPHY. Compiled with Annotations by *E. Millicent Sowerby*. (Washington: Library of Congress. 1953. Pp. 433; 481. \$3.75, \$4.75.)

A GENERAL estimate of this outstanding publication has already been given in the review of the first part dealing with "civil and natural history" (*AHR*, LVIII [July, 1953], 930). Volume II contains chapters xvi to xxiii, dealing with Ethics, Moral Philosophy, Law of Nature, Law of Nations, Religion, Equity, Common Law, Merchant Law, Maritime Law, and Ecclesiastical and Foreign Law. Volume III contains only the enormous chapter on Politics. As in the first part of the catalogue, the interest of the entries is much enhanced by the additional material collected by the bibliographer from original sources and direct transcriptions from manuscript documents. Thanks to these notes we are informed of the history of many items, when they were procured, from what source, and what price was paid for them; we are informed of Jefferson's insistence on a particular item and on a particular edition and very often of his opinion of the work and the author. It is quite possible that many of the books were never really read by their owner. They were obtained because Jefferson endeavored to cover adequately every branch of human activity, without permitting his likes and dislikes to interfere with the plan he had formed to collect as complete a reference library of "useful knowledge" as could be gathered through unrelenting efforts extending over fifty years. However, a quantitative analysis might serve as a clue to the relative importance attributed by Jefferson to certain chapters. Thus the fact that he collected more than 250 titles dealing directly with religion shows at least that he was not indifferent to the subject. His personal and doubtless passing interest in the affair of the diamond necklace, which occurred when he was in Paris, is reflected in a rich collection of pamphlets on the subject (items 1766-2098). As was to be expected the division on common law is very extensive (items 1766-2098) and includes the laws of England with practically all the essential commentaries and the statutes and laws of Virginia. The laws and statutes of all the other states are listed under "Foreign Law" with the *Codex Justinianus*, the laws of Scotland, and the "Code civil des Français."

An analysis of chapter xxiv forming Volume III of this publication is even more rewarding. This section as a whole obviously reflects Jefferson's political interests and activities. The range of the collection is very wide but is decidedly centered on matters concerning more or less directly American politics, the subdi-

visions indicated by Jefferson being: special government, ancient and modern; France, monarchical, revolutionary, imperial, and her colonies; England, constitution, parliament, dependencies; United States, colonial, revolutionary, reconstituted states; political economy, general statistics, commerce, and finance. The limitations of the collection are obvious.

Unlike John Adams, Jefferson very seldom embellished the margin of his books with comments and annotations. A few of the items listed in this chapter however contain manuscript notes of outstanding value. Some of the most striking are: an edition of the *Federalist* with the authorship of the essays indicated by Jefferson; the *Summary View of British America* with corrections and annotations in the hand of the author; Whately's *Principles of Trade*, with passages by Benjamin Franklin indicated by Jefferson; Lord Kames's *Essays on the Principle of Morality*, with a brief but capital discussion on the treatment of "captives" and prisoners of war in the hand of Jefferson; Condorcet's *Esquisse* with a manuscript note indicating that the "Act for Religious Freedom" was printed on handbills and circulated in France in 1789; and finally Ramsay's *Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government*, with a running commentary in the hand of Benjamin Franklin, a treasure about which Jefferson raved and which he termed "the relict of a saint."

No study of Jefferson can be undertaken without referring to these volumes, which constitute a real monument to the sage of Monticello. To the nonspecialist they afford a fascinating opportunity to visit with Mr. Jefferson, to browse in his library under his guidance and, through the abundant extracts from his letters, to carry with him these imaginary conversations which are the delight of leisurely readers and book lovers.

Princeton University

GILBERT CHINARD

ANDREW JACKSON: HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By *Harold C. Syrett*. [Makers of the American Tradition Series.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. Pp. 298. \$3.00.)

ROGER WILLIAMS: HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By *Perry Miller*. [Makers of the American Tradition Series.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. Pp. 273. \$3.00.)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE AMERICAN TRADITION. By *I. Bernard Cohen*. [Makers of the American Tradition Series.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. Pp. 320. \$3.00.)

A PROBLEM facing publisher and historian alike in these days of rising printing costs is how to get more history into fewer pages. These three volumes, the first of a new series under the general editorship of Hiram Haydn and Donald Bigelow, offer a fresh solution. They are neither anthology nor biography. Rather, they

combine the selected and edited writings of notable Americans with interpretations of their careers by the author-editors who have put the books together.

There is no attempt to be comprehensive; each volume concentrates upon those acts or thoughts which form the lasting contribution that the individual in question has made to the American tradition. On the one hand, this method enables the author to shear away a mass of extraneous incident and make what he deems the chief significance of his man stand out in bold relief. On the other, it drastically limits the historical and biographical background, necessitating a certain amount of preknowledge on the part of the reader if he is to gain full benefit from the stimulating commentaries and source material.

The editing of source material is an outstanding merit of all three volumes. The text of the documents is modern but not modernized; spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviation have been revised where necessary to achieve clarity and readability, but the guiding rule has been fidelity to the language of the original. More important, selections have been made with a sharp eye for fresh material, a discerning sense of what should be left out, and an awareness that some writings simply must be included, no matter how familiar. As a result, one lays down each volume with a feeling of having gained a sound knowledge of why its subject was a great leader.

Each of the three authors has succeeded in lifting his book well above the level of the ordinary. Perry Miller, discarding many a well-known dictum, reinterprets Roger Williams as an intense theologian, a strict Calvinist to the end, and a champion of religious freedom whose typological view of life is far removed from the intellectual premises of Jefferson's day. I. Bernard Cohen, faced with the extraordinary complexity of "the many-sided Franklin," finds his unifying theme in the empiricism that Franklin applied to virtually every problem he dealt with, whether it was how to ascertain the nature of electricity, how to gain wealth, how to be a diplomat or a good citizen, or how to concoct a tall story. Harold C. Syrett, with precise organization and incisive comment, places Andrew Jackson firmly in his times, as a nationalist who discovered presidential power in the will of the majority, and as the exponent of a middle-class, nineteenth-century *laissez-faire* capitalism that bears little resemblance to the economics of twentieth-century liberals.

All these interpretations are sustained most convincingly by the abundant documentary evidence. Indeed, all three authors maintain uniformly high standards in this promising new series, which the publisher has provided with a readable type-face, a pleasing format, and attractive and durable binding.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

TOBACCO COAST: A MARITIME HISTORY OF CHESAPEAKE BAY IN THE COLONIAL ERA. By *Arthur Pierce Middleton*. Edited for the Museum by *George Carrington Mason*. (Newport News, Va.: Mariners' Museum. 1953. Pp. xii, 482. \$5.00.)

Tobacco Coast is at once more and less than its subtitle indicates. In this stout, leisurely volume a world of lore on food, wild life, weather, tobacco culture, and the like is interpolated not always in proportion or even demonstrable relevance to the main theme. Too frequently the author has yielded to the understandable temptation to string together a series of illustrations or quotations when terse generalization would have quickened the exposition and sharpened the outline for readers. This characteristic, reinforced by topical treatment of materials under the headings, "Sea and Bay," "Commerce," "Shipping," and "Warfare," vitiates the sense of movement or development in Chesapeake maritime history. The time-honored method of "letting the facts speak" has many merits, but it also has definite limitations. Preoccupation with gathering and recording facts rather than interpreting them has resulted here in a book that is rich but not easily digested. Many questions well worth asking are not raised at all, either explicitly or implicitly.

But from another point of view these weaknesses turn into strength. The wealth of detail, gathered from an astonishing mass of manuscript sources in Virginia and Maryland, is both useful and suggestive. Surely the author was right to present the result of his researches and surely, also, he is too modest in his disclaimer of literary merit for his work. His study grows out of an evident love for the Chesapeake country reflected most vividly in the opening chapters on "Sea and Bay," which are replete with charm. The sketch of the "Great Bay of Chesapeake" not only conveys a genuine feeling for the variety and grandeur of the 4,612 miles of shoreline inside the capes, but reveals a clear understanding of the function of the waterways as a factor in populating and unifying the whole "tobacco coast."

It would probably not be too great a hazard to guess that *Tobacco Coast* was born of the author's feeling that the maritime history of the Chesapeake has been unduly neglected, as it most certainly has. Smaller in volume and less intensely active than Yankee shipping, Chesapeake maritime activity is by no means negligible. In Virginia and Maryland seafaring did not spring from inner necessity as in New England. Yet the love of salt water and the desire to exploit its resources launched ships and bred mariners in respectable numbers about the Bay. Always, however, these were overshadowed by English shipping which was by definition foreign to the indigenous maritime activities of the tobacco colonies, yet inextricably interwoven with them. Almost every facet of Chesapeake maritime history—convoying, defense of the Bay, all the ocean trades—is affected by this complication. It is an accomplishment worthy of notice that the author has solved the difficulty of presentation involved without unsettling the perspective of his book.

Documentation and scholarly apparatus are ample and sound.

Vanderbilt University

AUBREY C. LAND

THE MISSOURI CONTROVERSY, 1819-1821. By *Glover Moore*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 383. \$6.00.)

THIS volume should take its place on bookshelves with Floyd Shoemaker's excellent study (*Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821*) published in 1916, and supersede Mrs. Archibald Dixon's study of 1899. His judicious selection of materials, his lucid style, and his sympathetic understanding of both sides present a readable and detached exposition of Missouri's struggle for statehood. The book contains eleven chapters, beginning with a background of sectionalism and ending with the "Significance of the Missouri Controversy."

Dr. Moore accepts the Turner thesis that from the days of the Revolution we thought "sectionally." He proves wrong beyond a doubt the older thesis that the Missouri Controversy came up suddenly, like "a fire bell in the night." Northern and Southern critics had much to say in 1774, in the Continental Congress where economic differences were aired, and in the Constitutional Convention where compromise led to the "three-fifths clause" in the Constitution—a major sectional issue in 1787 and the "major issue in the Missouri" struggle. The ascendancy of the Virginians quieted Southern fears until 1819, while the New England Federalists and Democrats resented the Virginia dynasty and Southern domination of the nation's capital.

The Missouri Controversy was produced by sectional economic differences, Clintonian Democrats in New York who chafed under Southern domination of their party, Federalists who moved to restrict slavery in Missouri to avoid having so many presidents from the South, and by the humanitarians. Dr. Moore places the blame for the controversy in 1819 primarily on Federalists with an ostensible moral purpose, the Northern presses, and, above all, a Federalist fear of a continued political unbalance in the national government. Like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., he doubts the sincerity of the Northern moralists. The country was genuinely aroused only once, and that was in the fall of 1819. The people were more interested in making a living in the severe depression of those years than in the Missouri question. Hot tempers flared most in the halls of Congress.

Henry Clay, who emerged as the "Great Pacificator," is paid a high tribute for his dexterity in Congress. The significance of the three compromises that are known as "The Missouri Compromise" is seen in the clarification of the sectional issues that foreshadowed the future, the precedents in subjects for controversial debate over slavery and the Union, and the end of "the liberal phase of antebellum Southern history." The Missouri Controversy was the beginning of a strong "definitive defense of slavery" that soon swept the Southern philosophers, abolitionists, and nonvocal elements into the camp of advocates of slavery. From the debates in Congress and the press, the Douglas Democrats could find their proposals in 1854-1860.

Copious footnotes, an extensive bibliography, tables of data, four full-page illustrations, and an adequate index augment the text.

Miami University

WILLIAM E. SMITH

THE PEOPLE CALLED SHAKERS: A SEARCH FOR THE PERFECT SOCIETY. By *Edward Deming Andrews*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. xvi, 309. \$6.00.)

THERE were two distinct types of communitarian experiments which flourished in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century America. One was an attempt to create a new economic pattern for society, such as the Fourierist Phalanxes, of which twenty-eight had been established by 1860, and the Owenite and the Icaria communities. Other types of communitarianism, which found a foothold in America alongside of the purely secular types, were those which had a sectarian or a religious basis, such as the Shakers, the Rappites or the Harmonists, and the Amana communities. Religious communitarianism set the pattern for the whole communitarian movement in America, and the communities which were founded on a religious basis lasted longer and were the most successful economically. And of all the religious communitarians the Shakers are historically the most important.

The present volume is the outcome of a growing interest in the Shakers on the part of the author and his wife, which began with a casual call at the Shaker community at Hancock, Massachusetts, to buy a loaf of Shaker bread. This interest grew, as the author states, "from bread to chairs, from chairs and other forms of furniture to tools, from tools to the multiple things made by tools, and from these to books and manuscripts, prints and paintings." Their contacts, thus begun with the few remaining Shaker sisters, for there are no longer any men in the two remaining Shaker communities, led to a determination to tell the whole Shaker story. The result is this admirable study of Shakerism from its origins to the present.

The two main doctrines of Shakerism were their peculiar millennialism that held that Christ had appeared in the person of Ann Lee, their founder, and that the sex relation was the basis of all sin. Hence their official name, "Believers in Christ's Second Appearing," and celibacy, which was practiced in all their communities. Since every Shaker community was composed of both sexes, elaborate rules were devised to regulate the relationship of the sexes (p. 179), and the remarkable fact is that no case of scandal over sex matters in any community has come to light.

Character traits developed in the Shaker communities made it inevitable that these communities should become hives of industry, and the accumulation of communal wealth naturally followed. From the beginning the Shaker "Lead" adopted a policy of never going in debt, and when land, cattle, or tools were purchased they were always of the best quality. Everyone in the community learned a trade, and what was produced was without a flaw. They developed the first seed-growing industry in the country, invented the flat broom, while their barns housed the finest livestock to be found anywhere. Skillful cabinetmakers were developed in each community and Shaker furniture, especially their chairs, gained a nation-wide reputation for excellence.

No one who has written on the Shakers has been able to enter into their spirit as has the author of this volume, or to appraise more fairly their unique contribution "to a restless age of competitive individualism." Although they set an example of excellence in everything they produced, their principal influence came from what one member termed "consolidated goodness."

If this book has any faults it is in the absence of definite references to sources and the failure to include a more comprehensive bibliography.

Dallas, Texas

WILLIAM W. SWEET

THE BEGINNINGS OF GRADUATE EDUCATION IN AMERICA. By *Richard J. Storr*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 195. \$5.00.)

MUCH has been written concerning the history and problems of higher education in the United States but little on the development of postgraduate education. Apart from studies by W. Carson Ryan, Byrne J. Horton, and Mary B. Pierson, which deal primarily with the period of the founding of the Hopkins and other graduate schools, there have been few accounts of any length or thoroughness on the history of instruction leading to the master's and the doctor's degrees. Moreover, full-scale treatments of contemporary issues in graduate education—such as those by Marcia Edwards, Isaiah Bowman, E. V. Hollis, and Walton C. John—are conspicuous by their rarity. Because of these facts, the appearance of a new historical study by Richard J. Storr, assistant professor of history in the University of Chicago, is a signal event.

This work, a Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard University produced under the direction of Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., investigates the pre-Civil War "proposals and projects which anticipated modern graduate schools of arts and sciences in their institutionalized forms" (p. vii). With the aid of an admirable collection of source materials, published and unpublished, Dr. Storr explores the firm and the fumbling efforts to furnish advanced education in the colleges and universities. He shows clearly how the keen academic minds came to realize the weaknesses of the undergraduate colleges and how inspiration was drawn from German higher education. The ideas and recommendations of such leaders as Alexander Dallas Bache, Frederick A. P. Barnard, Edward Everett, Benjamin Peirce, Henry P. Tappan, and George Ticknor are fully analyzed, while considerable attention is given to graduate programs in institutions all over the country. Adequate note is also taken of the activities of the Scientific Lazzaroni Club in behalf of advanced instruction in the sciences. In brief, this is the first comprehensive account of the earliest efforts to create graduate programs of education in the United States.

The significance of the antebellum advancement of higher studies can best be summed up in the following paragraph:

What did the years before 1861 actually produce? The results of the thought and labor of the period certainly fell far short of the hopes for it. No great American University materialized; and no established college could claim to be a strong competitor of the European universities. No literary classic comparable to John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University* appeared to persuade Americans that, if they could not found great universities, they could at least write winningly about them. The achievement of the prewar reformers was to establish a tradition of aspiration and experimentation [p. 129].

The sixteen-page bibliography and the thirty-five pages of documentation appear to cover the subject thoroughly. Nonetheless, the author could have made greater use of institutional catalogues in providing more detailed information about the graduate courses actually taught. With regard to the secondary sources, Storr has omitted the customary critical comment. Sometimes he cites from a secondary work when the primary source is not difficult to obtain (e.g., p. 155). But these are matters of relatively minor importance. Professor Storr's book is a most welcome addition to the historical literature on higher education.

New York University

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

STANTON: LINCOLN'S SECRETARY OF WAR. By *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1953. Pp. xiii, 520. \$5.95.)

EDWIN McMaster's Stanton has long merited reappraisal. Mr. Pratt correctly states the case in his preface and goes on to add: "This is primarily a work of correction. The portrait of a kind of monster, a malignant Radical who betrayed Lincoln's and Johnson's confidence in order to carry out purposes of his own, not only fails to accord with the record—and the record is set down very elaborately in more than 300 volumes—it also fails to accord with any psychological possibility." Unfortunately, Mr. Pratt's "correction" is limited largely to special pleading as attorney for the defense. There is little or no "correction" of the record—the same incomplete and sometimes inaccurate record which others have used to arrive at results which differ from the interpretation of Mr. Pratt. Although Mr. Pratt acknowledges with thanks "a large number of letters and clippings kindly loaned by Mr. Gideon T. Stanton," he seems to be unaware of the great body of manuscript sources which bear the genuine ore that requires mining before a biographer can expect to "correct" the record or give a reliable and acceptable reappraisal of Lincoln's Secretary of War.

It is not true, as Mr. Pratt assumes, that the *Official Records* are either complete or entirely accurate, even though the many employees of the United States who compiled them did a better job perhaps than had ever been accomplished on a similar corpus of material prior to their time. In the Lincoln Papers, the Stanton Papers, the Chase Papers, the McClellan Papers, the Grant Papers, and many other collections, there are great opportunities for the biographer who wishes to correct the story and reappraise the achievement of Edwin M. Stanton. In general, the correction and the reappraisal may lie closer to Mr. Pratt's interpretation than

to the fragmentary and exaggerated caricatures which have been drawn by writers with a different thesis, for Mr. Pratt reasonably believes that the man whom Lincoln trusted and Ellen Hutchinson Stanton loved possessed intellectual and moral greatness as well as human warmth and dignity. It is even probable, so far as the knowledge of the present reviewer goes, that Frank A. Flower's biography of Stanton, published half a century ago, will be pretty largely vindicated as a reliable bit of historical writing, even though demonstrably out of date and honestly partisan. But in many instances the record is incorrect as it has been written, and when this incorrectness is embroidered with imagination, the result is pure fiction.

To cite an example, Mr. Pratt describes the scene leading up to Stanton's dispatch to Grant of March 3, 1865, which conveyed instructions that Grant was "to have no conference with General Lee unless it is for the capitulation of General Lee's army":

"Mr. President," said Stanton, "tomorrow is Inauguration Day. If you are not to be President; if any authority is for one moment to be recognized or any terms made that do not signify you are the supreme head of the nation; if generals in the field are to negotiate peace, or any other chief magistrate to be acknowledged on this continent, you are not needed and you had better not take the oath of office."

Lincoln's face fell a trifle, then he looked thoughtful. "I think the Secretary is right," he said, and that night Stanton sent a dispatch which, like all those expressed in its formula, was the product of a collaboration between them [p. 404].

The simple fact, as shown by the autograph draft preserved in the Stanton Papers, is that Lincoln wrote the body of the message and Stanton added the address and appended his own signature. Collaboration? Of a kind, perhaps, but not quite what Mr. Pratt imagined.

A second, and more complex piece of imagination is Mr. Pratt's narrative (pp. 164 ff.) concerning Lincoln's General War Order No. 1, the ensuing Special War Order No. 1, January 31, 1862, and General McClellan's purported "reply" to Lincoln's dispatch of February 3, 1862. McClellan's own report, as it appears in the *Official Records*, misdates on February 3 the document referred to as a "reply," presumably in order to make it appear as a reply, when it was actually written and dated (as the original manuscript in the Stanton Papers shows) on January 31. The precise sequence of events is so complex that it may never be entirely straightened out, but at worst Mr. Pratt need not have added to the sum of confusion if he had consulted the Stanton Papers.

Similar though less damaging examples are abundant, and merely add up to a serious waste of time and effort in writing history without consulting the ultimate in extant sources. Stanton does not need either imaginative and sympathetic, or imaginative and derogatory reappraisal, so much as an adequate factual study, based on an exhaustive analysis of primary as well as secondary sources.

Library of Congress

ROY P. BASLER

VICTORY RODE THE RAILS: THE STRATEGIC PLACE OF THE RAILROADS IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *George Edgar Turner*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1953. Pp. 419. \$4.50.)

EVER since the appearance nearly forty years ago of *The Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914* by E. A. Pratt the singular role played by American railroads during the Civil War has been rather generally understood. Valuable contributions over the years by such men as Fish, Ramsdell, Murphey, Cotterill, Barringer, Summers, and Kamm have served to encourage a more thorough examination of the factors involved in Civil War transportation.

The recent appearance of a number of significant studies has enlarged and clarified our understanding of the transportation factor in this "first railroad war." Following closely upon the heels of Weber's study of the northern railroads during the Civil War and Black's excellent treatment of the railroads of the Confederacy, *Victory Rode the Rails* is no mere rehashing of a previously told tale. Instead it is a successful and valuable synthesis of much of the writing that has been done in the history of Civil War transportation, and as such it will make for itself a recognized place in the literature of the subject. Based upon no heretofore undiscovered manuscript sources and making no claims concerning startling new interpretations, Turner's book will nevertheless appeal to a varied audience because of its steady pace, its attractive style, and its fresh approach to many of the most familiar campaigns of the Civil War.

Throughout the book certain dominant themes appear and reappear. One of these is the frequent description of the use and misuse by Union and Confederate commanders alike of rail facilities at their disposal. Often honors were about evenly divided on this score, with both sides showing a constantly increasing awareness and appreciation as the war progressed of the mobility potential to be found in rail transport.

In this reviewer's opinion a more vital consideration in the long run (and one of the war's most decisive factors) was the unquestioned superiority of the Northern rail system. The ability of the Union to enlarge and exploit this margin of superiority which existed from the very outset of the conflict is certainly one of the keys to the success of Union arms. Not only were the Northern railroads superior in such important categories as total rail mileage, rolling stock, and trunk-line development, but the ability of that section to maintain its lines in the face of an unprecedented traffic demand and to provide new and replacement equipment throughout the war was of equal consequence. Furthermore, this was accomplished in an atmosphere of comparative calm and quiet since most of its lines were safe from attack and free from the devastation which occurred in areas of active campaigning.

In the South, the picture was quite different. With its rail system at a strategic disadvantage from the very outset, and with no person in authority willing or able to introduce the extreme measures which the transport situation in the Confed-

eracy demanded, the railroads of the South were virtually strangled to death by their inability to meet the heavy demands of maintenance and repair which the traffic of war forced upon them.

We learn from the preface that the author's aim in writing this book was to describe "the part played by the railroads in the deadly conflict," and to show "how vitally the conduct and final outcome of the war was influenced by the railroads." In reaching these goals, Mr. Turner has made a valuable contribution to Civil War history, and has at the same time successfully resisted the strong temptation to indulge in a complete re-evaluation of Civil War strategy. The book's only serious shortcoming from the scholar's point of view is the lack of a comprehensive bibliography. Considering the years of study devoted to the subject and the obvious store of information at the author's disposal, failure to include as much of this as would be appropriate in a bibliography is most unfortunate.

University of Illinois

ROBERT M. SUTTON

RAILROAD LEADERS, 1845-1890: THE BUSINESS MIND IN ACTION.

By *Thomas C. Cochran*, University of Pennsylvania. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 564. \$7.50.)

AMERICAN businessmen have seldom received intelligent understanding. Usually they have either been adulated as highly intelligent and socially productive or been excoriated as greedy, immoral, and antisocial. Part of the explanation of these contradictory attitudes has been ingrained prejudice, but part has been simply a lack of information; businessmen have been notably unexpressive concerning their personal hopes, desires, and morals. Fortunately there is now a Center in Entrepreneurial History that is trying to correct this situation. Professor Cochran's present study analyzes the correspondence of sixty-one railroad executives with great care and considerable modesty. Tentative conclusions concern their attitudes on such matters as expansion, innovation, competition, labor, intercorporate relations, and government control. Only the slightest conclusions are concerned with opinions about politics, religion, education, and personal morals, since they appear but seldom in business correspondence. Approximately half the book is devoted to reprinted extracts from the letters.

Railroad executives were a highly selected group, and tended toward uniform views. They were thoroughly convinced of the sanctity of property rights, and of their personal responsibility for its preservation. In general they accepted the desirability of competition in a free market, but, while they applied this concept consistently to labor, they were inconsistent in favoring railroad co-operation and consolidation. They held that the most desirable characteristics of business executives were experience and prudence, combined with boldness upon occasion. They were basically conservative, preferring tradition to innovation, and Professor Cochran concludes that innovation seldom showed significant advantages, either

for the short or long run. They objected to legislative control, and when they recognized its inevitability during the late seventies found federal action less objectionable than state and hoped that court interpretations would be friendly. These executives had high personal moral standards, preferred honesty in their business transactions, accepted current religious concepts, and were generally Republican in politics, although with periodic unhappiness.

Hardly startling is the conclusion that railroad executives held similar views and that these views did not include socialism, polygamy, or atheism. More intriguing was a considerable diversity, with some of the members of the group even favoring guaranteed jobs for their employees and considerable government control. Apparently very few desired unlimited personal wealth, and most of them felt content if their roads produced even modest profits rather than losses. Personally they were highly moral and kindhearted. Whether or not Professor Cochran is correct in feeling that his sample may not be completely representative, certainly these men loved their fellow citizens and tried to help them—of course within the limits of their basic philosophy.

Anyone working in business history will certainly want to consult Professor Cochran's volume, but, more important, anyone concerned with human habit patterns and motivation, either past or present, will find this type of investigation interesting. While the book can hardly be recommended as light reading for a hot summer afternoon, it is significant in opening attractive vistas of types of information and of techniques that may well become vitally important for future historians.

Dartmouth College

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

ROYAL BOB: THE LIFE OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL. By C. H. Cramer.
(Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1952. Pp. 314. \$3.75.)

THIS book would seem to make superfluous any further accounts of the life of Robert G. Ingersoll. Ingersoll may not have been a great or profound man, but he comes alive as a robust and provocative human being in this excellent biography. Professor Cramer has combined what appears to be careful scholarship with a patent felicity of style to produce a first-class piece of personality history.

Cramer's bibliography indicates the wide range of sources used, including the principal Ingersoll manuscript collections. But what is most remarkable to this reviewer is the manner in which the author has sorted out the voluminous material and neatly put it into place, paragraph by paragraph, chapter by chapter, with no apparent straining at the task. The result is a smooth-flowing narrative that carries the reader quickly and easily along from start to finish of the book. The writing is clear, incisive, and colorful, but does not convey the impression of special striving for literary effect. Professor Cramer has demonstrated again that it is possible to combine attractive writing with historical accuracy and dignity.

Of course, the author was favored by having a scintillating hero (or villain) for his subject. Ingersoll, for all his lack of intellectual depth, possessed an impu-

dent wit and a tremendous zest for living. His flair for phrase-making won the plaudits of the throng in his own day and sparkles still in the pages of this biography. His irreverent agnosticism and anticlericalism would find a chilly response in the America of today, where the pendulum is moving soberly back toward orthodoxy and formalism. But his views on many other subjects—such as women and slavery—are no doubt more appealing to this generation than they were in the nineteenth century.

Perhaps the characteristic in Ingersoll that seems most striking in these days of concern for security and conformity was his willingness to take a lonely stand beyond the pale. He may have been mistaken, he may have been a fool, he may have acted with a view to self-profit. Yet the fact remains that he was not afraid to take his chances, and his chances were on the outside. Even in the days of rugged individualism there were few with the fortitude to sacrifice a safe and "respectable" life for an independent course such as his. One wonders if today there are any at all who would do so. So long as personal courage, freedom of mind, and strength of conviction are counted as elements of human dignity, we shall have to hold Robert Ingersoll in some measure of respect. And Professor Cramer, in his sympathetic treatment, has ably reminded us of just that.

Michigan State College

THOMAS H. GREER

LYMAN ABBOTT, CHRISTIAN EVOLUTIONIST: A STUDY IN RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM. By *Ira V. Brown*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 303. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR BROWN's excellent study is essentially an intellectual biography. The first scholarly treatment of Lyman Abbott, it also provides a good account of the main currents in American religious history from the Civil War through the First World War. Abbott, who was born in 1835, edited the *Christian Union*, later called the *Outlook*, from 1876 until his death in 1922, a few weeks before his eighty-seventh birthday. In addition to his important work as an editor, and as the author of a number of widely read religious books and commentaries, Abbott was also, after a brief association with his brother in the practice of law, a distinguished clergyman. Although he served a number of churches and denominations, being invited to preach and lecture throughout the United States, the high point of his ministry was the decade after 1887 when he was the successor of Henry Ward Beecher as pastor of Brooklyn's famous Plymouth Congregational Church. Like the Beecher family, the Abbotts were "irrepressible ministers, teachers, and authors," and Lyman managed to unite all three professions in his own long career as editor, preacher, and publicist.

An influential figure in the religious and secular life of the nation for more than half a century, Abbott, as Professor Brown is careful to point out, was not an original or profound thinker. A molder of public opinion, "he himself was molded by the pressures of his times," and in most ideological disputes he kept

to the middle ground. Never a dogmatist in sectarian or doctrinal matters, he was a religious liberal who accepted Darwinism as the basis of an evolutionary theology. Along with his contemporaries in the Social Gospel movement, he urged the church to take the leadership in the reform cause. Abbott, however, was never a radical. Social and political problems he viewed as questions of morals. His political philosophy was best expressed in the progressive Republicanism of Theodore Roosevelt, who after his presidency became a contributing editor of the *Outlook*. Like Roosevelt, Abbott was a staunch nationalist and a ready advocate of overseas expansion, which he rationalized in terms of the white man's burden. Always prepared to bridge the gap between Christianity and war, Abbott supported with enthusiasm the Civil, Spanish-American, and First World War. Although critical of most of Wilson's policies, as befitted an intimate associate of Theodore Roosevelt, Abbott was among the first to rally to the idea of a league to enforce peace.

So much of Abbott's thinking was commonplace that today his ideas and work seem to pale into insignificance. Yet his importance as a publicist cannot well be denied. Whether in the pulpit or the editor's chair, he "possessed an extraordinary ability to see which way the wind was blowing, and he seldom attempted to beat against it." The thinness of Abbott's lasting achievement is no fault of Professor Brown, whose well-documented book won the Brewer Prize of the American Society of Church History.

American University

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

DAVID STARR JORDAN: PROPHET OF FREEDOM. By *Edward McNall Burns*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 243. \$5.00.)

THE memory of David Starr Jordan has become a legend on the Pacific Coast. As the first president of Stanford University and its active leader for twenty-two years, he left an imperishable imprint on university life in the west. A contemporary of William Rainey Harper, James B. Angell, and Charles W. Eliot, he compared favorably with each of them in originality and accomplishment. Although he was one of the most versatile men of his day, little has been written of him except in the fields of education and science.

Professor Burns's book presents the long-needed account of Dr. Jordan's political and social philosophy and his multiple activities in public life. The volume is essentially a portrait of his mind. The author has carefully examined Dr. Jordan's voluminous published writings and has utilized the Jordan papers at Indiana University and Stanford. The result is a definitive study which is not only a contribution to understanding a great man but an insight into American intellectual history in the last decade of the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth centuries.

David Starr Jordan was a veritable prophet of freedom, and Professor Burns takes this concept as his central theme. In successive chapters, Dr. Jordan's views

on democracy, race, war, internationalism, property, education, religion, and human conduct are considered in relation to freedom. While his own mind was an unusually original one, Dr. Jordan's views were profoundly influenced by Thoreau, Emerson, Darwin, Yakov Novikov, John Fiske, Agassiz, and Andrew Dickson White.

The Spanish-American War brought a new era in the Stanford president's thinking, as it had done to lesser minds. He became an ardent anti-imperialist and a profound advocate of peace. In the early years of World War I he worked to prevent American participation and opposed the war until the eve of our entry. Not an absolute pacifist, he then worked for victory while looking to an international organization that would prevent future conflict. He believed that ultimately a world federal republic would bind the peoples of the world together. In 1924, he won the Raphael Herman prize of \$25,000 for the best practical proposal of maintaining international peace, entitling it "A Plan of Education to Develop International Justice and Friendship."

In many of his views Jordan reflected the prevailing thought of his time. Thrift and hard work he praised in the spirit of the pioneers. While not untouched by suggestions of economic and social reform, he championed economic individualism. In contrast with European education, he considered the key to American education "the power to bring about results." "David Starr Jordan appraised the problems of life and of conduct almost from the viewpoint of an efficiency expert" (p. 209).

Dr. Jordan attempted to encompass a variety of fields that would have tested an Aristotle or a Leonardo da Vinci. Inevitably his thought had imperfections, but we can agree with the author's conclusion that "the Stanford educator remains as one of the most fertile and inspiring geniuses of his age." Professor Burns's book is a fine piece of scholarship which all interested in the history of American thought will find rewarding.

Pomona College

E. WILSON LYON

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JUNE 14, 1855-JUNE 18, 1925. Chapter I-xxvi by *Belle Case La Follette*. Chapters xxvii-lxxii by *Fola La Follette*. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1953. Pp. xx, 730; vii, 731-1305. \$15.00.)

THIS is an intimate biography, one so deeply personal that the reader, like the historian given access to a set of private papers, sometimes really wonders if he has the right to intrude. Nor is it merely the biography of an individual; it is the biography of a family. The marriage of Bob and Belle La Follette was everything that a marriage should be, and their relationship as parents with their four children—two boys and two girls—was what all parents dream of and few attain. The completeness of the record from which this book was written derives in no small part from the habit of family intercommunication that developed with the

years. "You know *our* rule, to tell everything good or bad" (p. 1066) applied not only to the frequent illnesses sure to afflict a family that lived so intensely but also to every aspect of their personal and political behavior. Their constant and much-lamented separations were bridged by letters that provided the biographers with such a wealth of material as few writers have ever had at their command.

The first quarter of the biography is by Belle La Follette, the wife; the remaining three quarters are by Fola La Follette, the oldest of the four children. Mrs. La Follette's narrative brings her husband's career to the year 1910 and is essentially a memoir, although evidence abounds that things remembered have been carefully checked. But when the daughter takes over, research dominates, and remembrance serves only to supplement the documentary record. The footnotes for the first section are relatively sparse, on an average about fifteen per chapter; but the footnotes for the second section are numerous enough and precise enough to satisfy the most exacting standards of historical method. Furthermore, they refer in both sections almost exclusively to primary material, such sources as letters, documents, and news reports. Naturally the *La Follette Autobiography* comes in for extensive use while it lasts, but from the election of 1912 to the end of the second volume the narrative depends upon the kind of raw material from which the best history is written, material stored up for the most part in the La Follette Papers. Since Mrs. La Follette wrote in the first person, mainly about "Bob," her daughter continues the practice; family first names are used throughout—Bob, Belle, Fola, Bob Jr., Phil, and Mary. Each individual comes alive; the reader feels that he knows them all. The organization is strictly chronological. This involves an almost kaleidoscopic shifting of the scenery, but probably no other method would have made possible so full a review of La Follette's innumerable interests and activities. It is greatly to be hoped, however, that the La Follette Papers will now be available for others to use who may have in mind a different, and less personal, approach.

The highlights of the La Follette career are the highlights of the book: the battle for reform in Wisconsin; the leadership of the Progressive revolt in Congress; the election of 1912; the opposition to intervention in the First World War; the fight on the Treaty of Versailles; the campaign of 1924. The inside story of these momentous events, here fully and candidly reviewed, serves only to reinforce what was known before; the La Follettes were never given to concealment. The amplified record, however, provides full documentation, if such a thing were needed, to demonstrate the massive integrity of Robert M. La Follette, a quality long since conceded to him by all but an insignificant few. He was making no idle boast when he said: "In peace and in war, with all that it might bring upon my head, I have stood by what I believed to be right" (p. 1106).

The United States owes much to Robert M. La Follette. He was a stickler for principle who hardly knew the meaning of the word compromise, and on this account he lost many battles; but the war he waged to break the hold of private monopoly on the American government, in both state and national affairs, was by

no means unavailing. The measures for which he fought had a way of winning out eventually. Whatever the merits of the stand he took on the issues of the First World War, he served his country well in demonstrating that differences of opinion in wartime and disloyalty are not to be identified. He was too great a perfectionist to accept the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, but the faults he found in them were there; he was by no means an opponent of world collaboration. He saw, well ahead of many reformers, the impossibility of a united front within the country that would include Communists (p. 1101); but he saw also that "World peace is impossible without Russian cooperation" (p. 1081).

When the great state of Wisconsin was represented in the United States Senate by Robert M. La Follette, or by his son of the same name who fought for the same principles, it was well represented.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

HENRY CABOT LODGE: A BIOGRAPHY. By *John A. Garraty*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1953. Pp. xiii, 443, xvi. \$6.00.)

THIS painstaking account of the life of Henry Cabot Lodge utilizes, as have no previous biographies of the Massachusetts senator, his large legacy of personal papers. The biographer, unlike those who have preceded him, has come to his task determined to avoid "the twin perils of the whitewash and the tar barrel." He has written an informed and honest book about an unattractive man who for more than three decades influenced national policy, especially foreign policy, participated actively in the decisions of the Republican party, particularly in Massachusetts, and frequently irritated a considerable number of his colleagues and almost all of his opponents. For his stamina and restraint Professor Garraty deserves commendation.

The author's narrative brings together and confirms most of what historians already knew about Lodge. But the narrative suffers from its organization. So consistently, for example, does the author follow chronology that he continually interrupts his discussions of affairs of state with accounts of Lodge's personal life that would have gained meaning had they been placed together for separate treatment and assessment. The book does, however, relate in detail Lodge's role in such familiar episodes as the campaign of 1884, the Spanish War, the Alaskan boundary dispute, the making of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, the Republican schism of 1912, the fight over the Versailles treaty, and the Republican conventions of 1916 and 1920. On these and other matters, Professor Garraty apparently found no significant new data. Nor did his search disclose any unsuspected traits of personality or attitudes of mind. He paints a Lodge arrogant, prejudiced, vitriolic—sometimes savage, selfish, filiopietistic, chauvinistic, partisan. As Professor Garraty shows, Lodge was not corrupt. He never bought votes or voted to protect his own fortune. He displayed courage and imagination in entering politics when he did. But no other principles seem to have motivated his behavior in managing

his precincts or attempting to manage foreign policy. He loved to be consulted, enjoyed manipulation, believed consistently in *Realpolitik* and in himself. Professor Garraty also shows that Lodge, in certain seasons an advocate of a non-partisan foreign policy, let his partisanship and hatred for Wilson make him responsible jointly with the President for the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles. (Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., in two footnotes controverts these sound judgments. The notes demonstrate only that Ambassador Lodge inherited his grandfather's filiopieté.)

Professor Garraty has tried to assess Lodge objectively. Always sympathetic, sometimes apologetic, he nevertheless frequently criticizes his subject severely. But his assessment is incomplete, perhaps because his "chief aim" is "to show . . . [his] subject's point of view," an exercise he conceives to be "the proper function of biography." This may account for his infrequent reference to available manuscript collections of Lodge's contemporaries. These contain data on various episodes about which Professor Garraty has chosen not to write, including Lodge's intercession with Roosevelt on behalf of Mellen and the New Haven railroad, and his intercession for Roosevelt to defeat Wilson's Colombian treaty, and Lodge's influence on the recruitment, work, and report of the Dillingham Commission. Relying heavily on Lodge's manuscripts and opinions, the author has simply repeated his subject's unperceptive appraisals of Hanna and Taft, among others. He has also, possibly for the same reason, made too little of Lodge's differences with the policies of the Roosevelt administration on the regulation of railroads and corporations.

The author's "chief aim" does not entirely account for his treatment of Lodge's ideas, nor does his treatment of them sustain his conclusion that Lodge's was an intelligent conservatism. Had he considered more the books Lodge read and admired, the friends Lodge consulted and believed, he might have demonstrated more clearly how derivative, how biased was the mind of his subject. He might not have concluded that Lodge's article, "The Distribution of Ability in the United States," "had nothing directly to do with his dislike of the 'new' immigration" (p. 144). To be sure, as Professor Garraty notes, *Appleton's Encyclopedia* was published "prior to the immigration of the eighties and nineties." But the questions Lodge asked of the data in the *Encyclopedia* depended upon prejudices he and his intimates had nourished for a long time, prejudices he continued to nourish in 1890 and thereafter. Lodge's presumptions about race and social role suggest ways of reconciling the contradictions in his complex life which Professor Garraty has observed. The senator's conviction that his birth peculiarly fitted him to hold the seat of Webster and Sumner, and therefore to be the confidant of Presidents, helps to explain his willingness to adjust his hauteur to the demands of politics, to accept partisanship as a way of life, to truckle continually to the sentiments of his Irish-American constituents (another aspect of Lodge's behavior this book minimizes).

The fullest, most objective study of Lodge yet published, Professor Garraty's

book, within its chosen dimensions an accurate, clear, and sometimes entertaining piece of work, probably obviates the need for another biography. It will be useful to scholars seeking information about most of the affairs that concerned Lodge. It does not, however, significantly alter their understanding of the man or his times, nor does it provide a compelling interpretation of the man and his career.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

JOHN M. BLUM

HIDDEN THREADS OF HISTORY: WILSON THROUGH ROOSEVELT.

By *Louis B. Wehle*. With an Introduction by *Allan Nevins*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1953. Pp. xix, 300. \$4.00.)

THESE detailed, conscientiously recorded memoirs are an excellent illustration of the way a participant in the highly complicated political life of twentieth-century America can perform a valuable service for historians. Many of the threads that Wehle unravels from his rich experiences have indeed been hidden, and since paper records at the best are far from complete, might have remained unknown were it not for this book. In it he has amplified material in his files and in print with his often illuminating recollections, and while he has added his own thoughtful evaluations and conclusions, it is to the historians he turns for the final answers. Historians, too, will find difficulty in arriving at these, but will be grateful to Wehle for the evidence he has provided, and to Allan Nevins and the Oral History Project for stimulating him to write his recollections.

Wehle, a nephew of Louis D. Brandeis, followed in his great uncle's tradition by turning from his law practice to devote himself to public service whenever opportunity offered. In this he was notably successful during the administrations of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Again, like his uncle he was a middle-of-the-road Wilsonian progressive who took a pragmatic approach to the problems that faced him. He was ready to grant that labor leaders could be reasonable men and was able successfully to take a middle position between organized labor and employers during the First World War when such an attitude was still relatively rare. As a result, working under Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, he played a major part in establishing labor boards and formulating labor policies. He also negotiated construction contracts and, shortly after the war, tried to revive foreign trade through the War Finance Corporation.

During the war, Wehle became impressed with the high qualities of two of his associates, Food Administrator Hoover, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt. In 1920, like many others (including Roosevelt) he tried to persuade Hoover to run for President on the Democratic ticket. His unique proposal was a Hoover-Roosevelt slate. When Hoover announced himself a Republican he continued to promote Roosevelt for the vice presidency. Later in the 1920's, he was one of the first to regard Roosevelt as a presidential possibility, and worked on his behalf at every opportunity.

Wehle's political philosophy was to the right of the prevailing currents of the

New Deal, but from time to time he saw Roosevelt, at the President's invitation, in order to give him candid advice. He became intimately involved in the Tennessee Valley Authority controversy with the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation. In his detailed account Roosevelt, Willkie, and Lilienthal fare not too well; Morgan is the hero.

At the close of the Second World War, Wehle as head of the FEA mission to the Netherlands grappled with the problems of rehabilitating that country.

One of the most striking qualities of Wehle's recollections is his earnest effort to be realistically fair and avoid polemics even where he is obviously disapproving. As a consequence, his observations on Roosevelt, Hoover, Baker, and many lesser figures have a rare balance and much insight. In his dealings with Roosevelt, however, he was swayed like almost everyone else by the President's charming and useful knack of making others feel of unique importance. The fault lies with Roosevelt, not Wehle, who is well aware that his threads are only a few of the countless ones that make up the fabric of recent history.

Stanford University

FRANK FREIDEL

AMERICAN CRISIS DIPLOMACY: THE QUEST FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY, 1918-1952. By *Richard W. Van Alstyne*. Foreword by Graham H. Stuart. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 165. \$3.50.)

THE author of this book indicates in the preface that it is a "history" because it "treats the issues in American foreign policy from the standpoint of experience not of theory." In the foreword Professor Stuart says that the volume is "an effort to untangle the skeins of American foreign policy in Europe and the Far East in this period of crisis diplomacy." Evidently the author has attempted to present a brief survey of the foreign policy of the United States and an outline of the circumstances which molded that policy, during the period from 1918 to 1952.

The contents of the book are arranged in three sections or chapters: "The Pacific Becomes a Crisis Area (1918-1941)," "The Holocaust of 1939-1945," and "New Worlds, New Quarrels." There are seventeen pages of carefully prepared footnotes and an adequate index.

Such a survey has been needed and the author has handled the subject, for the most part, with good judgment and skill. His footnote references and comments are well balanced and often illuminating. He has woven into his discourse evidence of considerable thought and careful scholarship. While he has not had access to all the official documents, he has apparently been able, frequently, to arrive at the heart of the matter from a study of other materials available. The reader may not be convinced that the "public at home" was "passionately devoted to isolationism" in 1934 (p. 15), or that the gravity of the Munich surrender "drove every other thought from the American Mind" (p. 37), but he will be convinced that the author has given him an excellent survey of foreign policy and has sincerely tried to interpret that policy fairly and intelligently.

The author has used the available published reports of the State Department and of other governmental departments and agencies; he has drawn heavily upon the published works of statesmen who participated in events and upon the works of other scholars. The writings of Churchill, Hull, Stimson, Leahy, Stettinius, Byrnes, Sherwood, and others have properly contributed much to his understanding, but, valuable as such works are, they do not take the place of a careful study of the official documents themselves. In this survey many events are mentioned and treated in their proper relationship, but the reader may be disappointed in not finding adequate mention of such significant events as the ABC Conference of 1941, the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, and the formation and work of the Combined Chiefs of Staff throughout the whole period of the war.

A survey of such a broad field as is attempted in this volume, especially in respect to areas in which the documents are not available or have not been properly studied, may easily degenerate into a journalistic commentary in which neither wisdom nor learning are in evidence.

State University of Iowa

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON

FARM POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1950: A STUDY OF THEIR ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT. By *Murray R. Benedict*. (New York: Twentieth Century Fund. 1953. Pp. xv, 548. \$5.00.)

"AMERICAN farm policy," Professor Benedict writes, "has been a major political and economic issue during the past three decades. . . . The policies which now reflect the national attitude toward agriculture, and the aspirations of the farm groups, have been taking shape throughout the nation's history." In this large volume he has sought to "trace the development of policies relating to agriculture and the people on farms, and to bring into clearer perspective the ways in which farm people and the national economy have been affected." Less than one quarter of the book is given to the first 125 years, but a full three fifths is devoted to the period since the First World War. In dealing with the history of United States farm policies, Benedict is concerned with such problems as the evolution of the federal land policy, the land tenure system, farm credit, farm marketing, co-operatives, and a host of other related aspects of American agriculture. He is also concerned with the relation of agriculture to the rest of the domestic economy and hence discusses tariffs, fiscal and monetary policy, transportation, trusts and the control of trusts, and related problems. Moreover, he sees the United States economy as part of the world economy and is concerned with the position of the United States within the larger scheme of things. In short, he has sought to present the highly complex problem of the evolution of farm policies in broad perspective.

Following the agricultural collapse of 1920-21, farm leaders began to talk about comprehensive schemes to improve the lot of the farmers. During the period of the 1920's "parity" became and in fact still remains the talismanic word of Ameri-

can agriculture. Not only does Benedict trace the numerous farm programs in great detail but he offers clear, firm judgments on the strength, the weakness, and the ultimate success of these schemes. Thus after presenting the various farm programs of the 1920's, he concludes that although farm groups were better organized and more articulate at the end of the decade than they had been at the beginning, "In broad outline it seems evident that agriculture worked its way out of the post war depression by the slow process of adjustment in response to natural economic forces that would have operated in much the same way had there been no organizations of farmers and no pressure on Congress." Of the Hoover farm program, particularly the operation of the Agricultural Marketing Act, he observes that "improved marketing mechanisms alone cannot make major changes in the returns to agriculture." Of the accomplishments of the board he declares, "On the whole it seems fair to state that the Board's program did not make major changes in the situation or structure of agriculture. Nor is it likely that it would have done so had the plan been continued longer." But "the Farm Board approach may be looked upon as a stage in the evolution of the programs that were to come later."

Some parts of the New Deal farm program Benedict approves as representing important forward steps, but he is unenthusiastic about those designed to establish parity. In fact the most perplexing farm problems were still unresolved at the end of the 1930's. He concludes that "The heavy stocks of basic farm products that had been built up were fortuitous results of serious defects in the earlier program rather than evidence of foresight. They would almost certainly have brought disaster had it not been for the insatiable demand that grew out of the war." In tracing agricultural policy through the war years and thereafter, Benedict presents much that illuminates this intricate and agitated period. In fact, the source and nature of many of the current woes of Mr. Ezra Taft Benson are outlined in these measured, detached pages.

Despite the complexity of the agricultural problem, Professor Benedict ends with a note of optimism. He declines to accept the notion of a chronic agricultural depression and constant governmental intervention although he anticipates overproduction of one crop or another from time to time. He sees the farmers as facing constantly changing conditions, but he thinks the world in the future is far more likely to be concerned with food shortages than with food surpluses.

This is not an exciting book. Solid, detailed, detached, it underscores the variety and complexity of the agricultural economy. It is unfortunate that the publishers of this very useful book decided to present it in double-column pages—a format designed to discourage all but the most determined readers.

University of Wisconsin

VERNON CARSTENSEN

THE DECLINE OF AGRARIAN DEMOCRACY. By *Grant McConnell*.
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1953. Pp. 226. \$3.75.)

THIS is the story of the rise of American agriculture to a position of political power commensurate with that held by American business and the American labor movement. Any proponent of agriculture it seems would welcome this attainment of political and economic equilibrium in the American system. Grant McConnell, who writes as a friend of agriculture, sees the movement as the "Decline of Agrarian Democracy"—a transition from the mass aspirations of the common man to the rule of an oligarchy in agriculture. As one sympathetic to agrarian aspirations in the most rural section of the nation, the South, this reviewer agrees with the facts adduced by the author and yet feels that this spirited and interesting book is thesis ridden and claims too much.

While not essentially new this thesis of agriculture's new power structure has never been more cogently presented. It runs as follows: The success of Seaman A. Knapp's farm demonstration work and the organization of agricultural education on the basis of extension services stemming from the state agricultural colleges created a new focus of political power centering in a new public official, the county agent, paid largely from private funds—philanthropic and business. The organization of private interests—businessmen and farmers—to support this movement resulted in the Farm Bureau Federation which finally came to speak for all farmers as the one big agricultural lobby. While decreasing its financial support of the farm agents the Farm Bureau increased its control of agricultural extension in the interest of the large-scale, prosperous farmers. Although the Farm Bureau Federation supported New Deal reforms in agriculture, it was able to channel all agricultural services through the agricultural colleges to the farm agent—a public official which they have always been able to control. The bureau's ultimate victory was represented in its liquidation of the Farm Security Administration, which offered parallel services for farm tenants and small operators. Thus democracy has gone out of agriculture and our agrarian policies are ruled by an agricultural oligarchy.

If these are reprehensible acts—and they may well be—this reviewer contends there are more villains in the piece than Ed O'Neil and the Farm Bureau Federation. They include Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, New Deal reforms, the boll weevil, the wheat combine, agricultural mechanization and education, and the 1950 census. In other words it seems to this reviewer that McConnell has confused cause and effect and attributed the movement of vast impersonal economic and technical forces to the machinations of the executive committee of the Farm Bureau Federation. To write the kind of history he does, McConnell should pay as much attention to economic trends and the census reports as to the documents he cites so well.

Agriculture has increasingly come into its own in the era McConnell sees as its degradation. It has done this by bettering its terms of trade with industry. Farm tenancy has declined from 60 per cent, its highest point, to 26 per cent, the level obtaining in 1880. Tenants, farm laborers, and small operators are fewer and those who remain are much better paid. The farm population is now only 16.6 per cent

of the total and, while it may go lower, it has approached the level of efficient returns. Efficiency per farmer is at its highest and output per consumer is maintained. These are the goals of agriculture the world over; they come with education, science, and technology. It is these goals which McConnell undervalues and rarely mentions.

Our economy is a mixed economy and this fact is reflected in our conflicts of interest. It is true that big business and little business are in alliance to advance the rights and claims of free enterprise; they are also in conflict and in this conflict big business advances the most and gains the most advantage. The same thing is true in agriculture; and here is the essential justification of McConnell's thesis.

Time, rather than the Farm Bureau, liquidated the farm tenant as a large scale social problem—much to the benefit of the tenants.

University of North Carolina

RUPERT B. VANCE

AMERICAN LABOR FROM DEFENSE TO RECONVERSION. By *Joel Seidman*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 307. \$5.50.)

This volume is a brief but comprehensive account of the major strands of labor's experience from the 1930's to adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. The work is based largely upon exhaustive study of current sources, labor papers and reports, newspapers, and government documents. Union organization is accepted "as a good thing in our kind of society," but this assumption does not prevent objective handling of the materials or criticism of union policies.

The story begins with the faltering labor movement of the early 1930's, follows it through the rapid growth after the organization of the CIO and the changed public policy which reflected increased public sympathy with unionism, to the emergence of powerful unionism and with it "a growing public impatience and irritation" with the labor movement. After an account of the defense crisis and the work of the National Defense Mediation Board the story turns to the transformed labor-management relationships of the war period, in which government inevitably played a larger role. The National War Labor Board's answer to the union-security problem, maintenance of membership, is felt to have been a workable wartime solution. The author is more critical of the wage policy, holding that the Board was unduly rigid and finding some justice in labor's criticism of the incidence of the total stabilization program. Wartime strikes, reflecting not only the intransigence of a few labor leaders but also the accumulating strains of a war period, are shown in the perspective of comparison with the records of our allies and in relation to other causes of lost time and to the total production record, to have been less serious than the public believed. The manpower crisis was successfully met, with a minimum of coercion and with a social gain in breaking down discrimination. There is discussion also of problems of labor participation in war agencies, of NLRB wartime policies, of developments within the labor movement, and of the growth of public interest in curbing union abuses, which

labor leaders admitted but did little to eliminate though fighting regulation. With the end of the war and the rapid dismantling of controls, the accumulated tensions broke out in the great strike wave of 1945-1946, the causes and handling of which are analyzed in detail. All this, the author believes, helped to prepare the way for antiunion legislation in many states and in the Taft-Hartley Act.

In conclusion, the author notes wartime mistakes of labor and management and in the government's economic policies. He ends with a comment on the political ineffectiveness of American labor, which made it possible for "many of the key decisions in the war and reconversion periods" to go against labor, and the question whether labor was learning that economic gains may be lost in the political arena, or that it was paying "a price for the lack of sufficient responsiveness to public opinion." There is room for difference of opinion on some of the judgments expressed, but this careful history will well repay study by those who hope that the mistakes of the past need not be repeated.

Vassar College

EMILY CLARK BROWN

THE FALL OF THE PHILIPPINES. By *Louis Morton*. [United States Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1953. Pp. xvii, 626. \$5.25.)

In this history of the war in the Philippines, Dr. Louis Morton has given us a vivid and truthful picture of the sequence of events that culminated in the fall of Bataan on April 8, 1942, and, a month after, on May 6, the surrender of Corregidor. It was an inexorable sequence, as the narrative shows, and nothing could have stood in the way of the enemy's advance to reverse the tide in the USAFFE's favor.

The tragedy starts with the first bombs on the military installations around Manila in the early hours of December 8, shortly after Pearl Harbor. Daylight brought the full impact of the attack on Clark Field and Nichols Field, which were reduced to a shambles. At the crucial moment a teletype message to Clark had failed to get through, either because the radio operator was out to lunch or because the enemy had drowned the message by his systematic jamming: whichever it was, the picture was one of utter confusion. Cavite's destruction on December 10, carrying the inexorable sequence forward, showed the enemy unchallenged in the air, with the defenders' anti-aircraft shells exploding from 2,000 to 4,000 feet short of their targets. The Far East Air Force had disintegrated, if not on the ground, where the American planes were decimated like sitting ducks, then in the air. For its part, the Far East Naval Force had fled to safer waters, and the first phase of the fall of the Philippines was completed.

The story of the withdrawal to Bataan, and of the subsequent resistance from that peninsula is very illuminating. For the first time readers in the Philippines have the facts to fill some of the gaps. Manilans will read that there was truth to reports reaching them at the end of January, 1942, that the Japanese were so weak-

ened that the USAFFE could have returned to the capital without much opposition. Such a victory would of course have availed the USAFFE nothing, so long as the sea and air around the Philippines were under Japanese control. The half-rations in Bataan were fast dwindling, disease was sapping the men's vitality, and the "help" that was "on the way" was no longer even a joke. On the other hand, the enemy, after his first setbacks, had received great reinforcements.

The reduction of Corregidor was inevitable after Bataan's elimination as a threat to imperial headquarters. The siege eventually rendered the island fortress indefensible, and the Japanese landed as planned. Corregidor had become the most isolated target in the heart of an already completely isolated frontier of the entire Pacific area. Under the Japanese fire that had poured into the "Gibraltar of the Philippines" without letup immediately following the fall of Bataan, life was reduced to the barest possibilities. Ironically, two Navy PBV's brought in some medicine and mechanical fuzes from Australia, "an empty gesture," in Mr. Morton's words, "for a garrison reeling under the effects of the heaviest bombardment of the war." The incident but served to emphasize the "dismal failure" of all previous attempts to run the Japanese blockade.

With the scanty material at his disposal, Dr. Morton has given us a faithful account of the military disaster for which the imperial military had to pay most heavily not only in lives and materiel but also in prestige resulting from the four months of delay in the timetables of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Perhaps the Filipino reader would want more from Dr. Morton regarding such dramatic episodes as the evacuation of Quezon and the other Commonwealth officials, among them Mr. Sergio Osmena. Some day, out of records and memoirs still unrevealed, there will emerge a detailed and documented account of the Filipino role in the Pacific War which will complete the history so skillfully dramatized by Dr. Morton in this notable book.

New York, N. Y.

CARLOS ROMULO

STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR COALITION WARFARE, 1941-1942. By Maurice Matloff and Edwin M. Snell. [United States Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1953. Pp. xvi, 454. \$3.25.)

This volume of the Army's historical series covers Anglo-American strategic planning from the staff talks in early 1941 through the Casablanca conference in January, 1943. The material used is drawn mainly from War Department files, but the book is not an official apologia. Indeed, the authors appear to have had a free hand, and the essential information seems to have been "declassified" for their use. Future revelations probably will not change their story in any important respect.

The most important decision—to defeat Germany before Japan—had been taken before Pearl Harbor. In the summer of 1942 the American Chiefs of Staff

were ready to reverse this decision when the British refused to invade western Europe that year. But plans for an all-out war in the Pacific were not ready, and Roosevelt hankered for action against the Germans in 1942. The outcome was a Mediterranean adventure that dissolved the threat to Suez, cleared North Africa, and knocked Italy out of the war, but that also postponed the showdown invasion of western Europe until 1944.

Most of the authors' attention is given to 1942, the critical year when the Allies passed from an uncertain defensive to an offensive that carried through to unconditional surrender. The decisions taken that year were vital, not only for the disposition of available men and materials but also for the establishment of claims on the future. This story might well be studied by those who may some time have to make similar decisions. For their guidance this study provides invaluable information concerning past mistakes and successes.

One wonders if the authors fully appreciated the thinking of General Marshall. His insistence upon the importance of western Europe and his opposition to "peripheral picking" in the Mediterranean were based upon military considerations and upon the obvious fact that the domination of western Europe by the Germans was a greater threat to the security of the United States than the loss of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. In addition, the importance of the allocation of American supplies seems to have been slighted. Through the allocation of supplies the American authorities were in a position to control western strategy and even to influence Soviet actions. That this power was not used to the fullest extent does not detract from its reality.

However, these matters do not destroy the value of a book which demonstrates that allies can achieve practicable unity of command on high levels, as well as in the field. Unity of command came shortly after Pearl Harbor, largely at the insistence of General Marshall, who remembered the tragic divisions of World War I. Undoubtedly, the Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff, by providing a vehicle for the concentration and direction of Allied power, shortened the war and economized in blood and treasure. Unity of command was not easy of attainment. The mother tongue and common traditions helped, but the political interests of the two allies sometimes were of unequal emphasis or even diverged. It is a measure of the good will and trust on both sides that the frictions were overcome, that the war was won, and that the alliance still endures.

University of Minnesota

RODNEY C. LOEHR

THE CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION OF HONDURAS, 1502-1550. By *Robert S. Chamberlain*. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1953. Pp. v, 264. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.50.)

TLAXCALA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Charles Gibson*, Assistant Professor of History, State University of Iowa. [Yale Historical Publications,

Miscellany LVI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 300. \$6.00.)

MR. Chamberlain presents the first scholarly account of the establishment of Spanish rule in Honduras. Using the careful analytical methods now associated with his name, the author corrects the contemporary published chronicles with archival sources gathered in Guatemala and Spain. The confusing events connected with the Spanish occupation of Central America receive in this narrative as much clarification as anyone is likely to give them. The years 1539-1544, hitherto obscure, have been filled in and no longer constitute a hiatus in Honduran history. Although most matters of importance are treated, it is perhaps natural in a book of this kind that the narrative of conquest and rivalry among the conquerors occupies more space than the descriptions of colonization. The reviewer hopes that Mr. Chamberlain will utilize whatever material the archives contain for another book covering the same years to show the important work of transplanting Spanish agriculture and livestock. Also, a better understanding of the early years would result if we knew more of the condition of the Indians and of their local rule under Spanish government.

Mr. Gibson's book deals with a situation that was different and his narrative is correspondingly written in a different manner. Tlaxcala was not the scene of such long and bitter rivalry among Spaniards as plagued Honduras. After a relatively short period of war with the Indians, the Spaniards set about establishing the economic, political, and religious institutions which were to predominate. Handling an overwhelming amount of extremely complex material in a masterful way, Mr. Gibson has done an excellent job in clarifying the process by which Spanish and Indian cultures became the colonial blend. What resulted was increasingly Spanish, though the process could never be carried to the point where colonial life was merely a copy of Spain's.

As far as this reviewer is concerned, the author's method of studying the meeting and mingling of two cultures is the proper one. Granted that in some ways Tlaxcala was a special situation, it seems clear, nevertheless, that what happened when Spanish and Tlaxcalan cultures met was similar to results elsewhere when the state of Indian culture was comparable.

The reviewer found no errors or defects in either book that merit comment.

City College, New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

BRAZIL: PAPERS PRESENTED IN THE INSTITUTE FOR BRAZILIAN STUDIES, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY. By *James B. Watson*, *Theresa Sherrer Davidson*, and *Earl W. Thomas*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1953. Pp. 135. \$2.75.)

LES FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE PENDANT LA DEUXIÈME MOITIÉ DU XVI^e SIÈCLE: LE BRÉSIL ET LES BRÉSILIENS. By *André Thevet*,

Angoumois, *Cosmographe du Roy*. Choix de textes et notes par *Suzanne Lussagnet*. Introduction par *Ch.-André Julien*. [Pays d'outre-mer. Deuxième série: Les classiques de la colonisation, 2.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1953. Pp. viii, 346. 1.200 fr.)

PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL: AN INTRODUCTION. Made by Friends of *Edgar Prestage* and *Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell* in Piam Memoriam. Edited by *H. V. Livermore*. With the Assistance of *W. J. Entwistle*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 418. \$8.50.)

THE three works under discussion here, two new and one very old, were all published in 1953 and in their different ways illustrate the growing interest in the United States, France, and England in Lusitanian subjects.

Thanks largely to Alexander Marchant, Vanderbilt University is becoming the center of Brazilian studies in the United States. Vanderbilt presents the first book on this list, a compilation of three essays in diverse fields. "The Brazilian Caboclo," the half-civilized resident of the back country, is the theme of James B. Watson's paper, which is primarily sociological though intimately related to history. The author sees "Caboclism" as a phase of the Brazilian social scene that will probably disappear with time yet as one that will surely survive many years in remoter parts of the vast and little-penetrated hinterland. Theresa Sherrer Davidson presents "The Brazilian Inheritance of Roman Law," a study valuable even for those with no particular interest in Brazil. Much of the essay is devoted to the development of Roman law itself and to its evolution in Europe before its re-entry into the onetime Roman province of Portugal, to be later exported to Brazil. The study concludes with an interesting discussion of the standing Roman law now has in the Brazilian civil code and the use made of it by the courts. Earl W. Thomas contributes "Folklore in Brazilian Literature," which not only illustrates an interesting theme but has the additional merit of imparting to the uninformed reader some knowledge of the history and shape of Brazilian literature in general. Three continents—Europe, Africa, and South America—have combined to produce the interesting amalgam of customs and beliefs that make Brazil a treasure trove for folklorists. The author points out that, while earlier Brazilian writers of the romantic school either scorned their nation's lore, or else utilized it superficially with no attempt to understand it, recent ones have more than made up for their predecessors' neglect.

Le Brésil et les brésiliens, a part of the French series entitled "Les français en Amérique," contains three writings by the sixteenth-century Cordelier traveler, André Thevet. This friar, who went with Villegaignon to Guanabara Bay in 1555, did not remain long in America but in the space of his short visit managed to acquire a large fund of information regarding local geography and Indian customs. The most important of the pieces republished here is an excerpt dealing with Brazil from Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle*. In this the friar rather outdoes

his German contemporary, Hans Staden, in description of the habits and manners of the cannibalistic Tamoyo Indians. *La cosmographie universelle*, originally published in 1575, had long since become a bibliographical rarity, of which only a few copies were known. The present edition, prepared by Mlle. Suzanne Lussagnet, contains the original woodcuts, whose creator, in common with most illustrators of his time, gave the native Brazilian savages faces and physiques that were perfectly European. Two lesser writings by Thevet, "Histoire de deux voyages" and "Le grand insulaire," also concerned with Brazil, are included in the volume. All three appear just as they were written, with no attempt to modernize the archaic French. An introduction by Ch.-A. Julien, editor of the series, provides the necessary information concerning Thevet and his work.

Portugal and Brazil: An Introduction was planned first as an offering to be presented to Edgar Prestage, formerly Camões Professor of Portuguese at London University, on his eightieth birthday. The death of this renowned scholar, closely following that of Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell, caused a change of plan, and the volume became a memorial to both these English pioneers in Portuguese studies. Since there are seventeen contributors, each dealing in an abbreviated way with his or her specialty, a review in the conventional sense is out of the question here. It is worth noting that both Prestage and Bell, before their deaths, wrote essays that are included in the volume. "Reminiscences of Portugal," by Dr. Prestage, is a résumé of the author's sixty-year acquaintanceship with the country he regarded as his second home. Having made his first visit there in 1891, Prestage saw much recent Portuguese history in the making and was deeply impressed by what he saw and heard. If some of these impressions seem a trifle naive to the present reviewer, the fact remains that Dr. Prestage saw and learned a great deal more of Portugal than has been true of this reviewer. Aubrey Bell, a lifelong student of Portuguese letters, records his mature impressions in "Perspectives of Portuguese Literature," which he surveys to the end of the nineteenth century. The remaining essays cover the history, law, language, architecture, painting, and music of Portugal and Brazil. Science alone is missing, and understandably so, for this is a field in which neither country can be said to have distinguished itself. A more detailed enumeration of the essays being impossible, it is perhaps enough to say that the leading authorities of England and the United States are contributors to the volume, assisted by a competent Portuguese-Brazilian group. Under such fortunate circumstances, the general level of performance could not be anything but high. Editor Livermore and his associates deserve both thanks and congratulations.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE TEMPER OF WESTERN EUROPE. By *Crane Brinton*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. ix, 118, \$2.50.) Ever since World War I, prophets have gazed into their clouded crystals to predict the doom of western Europe. In these sparkling lectures delivered at the University of Virginia last spring Crane Brinton analyzes the temper of the three hundred million western European people and finds "the lift of courage and hope." To generalize about so many people is a presumptuous task but it has often been done. It is best done by an experienced traveler who is also an imaginative and trained historian like Professor Brinton. When he looks at the present he sees not a dying Europe but a "richer" Europe, a Europe where a persistent past lives in political institutions, class structure, and unbombed buildings, in nationalism and individualism, and yet a Europe with a larger population producing more goods, a Europe where one is often "reminded more of a nursery than of a death ward." When he gazes into the future he sees a good chance of a European union in which the tradition of the Enlightenment, enriched and deepened, will continue. But Professor Brinton is too wise a man to fall into clichés, and he never gives a simple answer. Often he ends in paradox and this is how the astute student of contemporary affairs must usually conclude. One thing he makes clear: "the condition of western Europe is not as bad as it is generally believed in this country." If this is the end of western Europe, we cannot *know* it—yet. B.C.S.

ASTROLOGY AND ALCHEMY: TWO FOSSIL SCIENCES. By *Mark Graubard*, University of Minnesota. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. xi, 382, \$5.00.) The development of these two occult sciences has often been romanticized or otherwise misunderstood not only by popular writers but to some extent by professional general historians. For this the Graubard exposition should be a powerful antidote. Book I is on "The Quest among the Stars." The author is aware of that perennial type of astrology which operates on the soothsayer's and charlatan's level, but his chief concern is to trace astrology's "rise and fall among the learned." Impressive is the roster of great astronomers, and of eminent thinkers in other fields, who accepted the astrological applications of astronomical science as valid: Ptolemy, Galen, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Marsilio Ficino, Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Francis Bacon, and Descartes. Some of these distinguished a particular area of life dominated by astral influences and another reserved for free will. Downright rejection of the doctrine came much more often from mystical philosophers or theologians who distrusted the sciences generally than from scientists opposing astrology as a superstition. Less effective is Book II on "The Quest for the Nature of Matter." The first three chapters, along with some estimates of alchemy's achievements in the identification of substances and in quantitative experimentation, are burdened with lengthy quotations from Zosimus, Basil Valentine, Lull, Flamel, Zachaire, Dee, and other adepts famous chiefly or only in alchemical folklore. Graubard, in an effort to be fair, seems to build these up beyond their deserts. Alchemy had about half as long a history as astrology, and these

names represent a stage of alchemical development corresponding roughly to the Babylonian study of the stars. In the final chapter, however, on "Iatro-chemistry and Phlogiston," we meet a succession of really eminent scientists struggling with basic chemical problems, leading up to Lavoisier much as the long succession of Greek astronomers led up to Ptolemy. In this chapter the appraisal of Paracelsus deserves special mention as perhaps the fairest existing treatment of one of the most baffling of historical figures.

WILLIAM JEROME WILSON, *Armed Forces Medical Library*

INQUISITIO DE FIDE: A COLLOQUY BY DESIDERIUS ERASMUS ROTERO-DAMUS, 1524. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by *Craig R. Thompson*. [Yale Studies in Religion, No. XV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pp. vi, 131, \$3.00.) As Professor Thompson states in his preface (p. v), Erasmus' *Inquisitio de Fide* belongs to the less familiar of the *Colloquia familiaria* and "it has seldom been seriously examined" (p. 3 n. 3). This oblivion is not surprising because, taken at face value, this colloquy presents merely "a brief exposition of the Apostles' Creed" (p. 2) and "is for the most part only a catechism" (p. 38). What, however, lends interest to the dialogue is the identity of the two interlocutors, Aulus and Barbatius, who according to Erasmus stand for himself and for Luther (or a Lutheran). The interest is further enhanced by the fact that at the end of his catechism Aulus makes no objection to the Lutheran's assertion, "I think that I am orthodox" (p. 73), but merely raises the question: "How comes it about, then, that there is so great a war between you and the orthodox?" At this point the dates of the composition of *Inquisitio de Fide* ("written most likely in late 1523 or early 1524," p. 37) and of its publication in March, 1524, become very important, for these dates coincide with Erasmus' work on his first outspokenly anti-Lutheran treatise, the *De libero arbitrio*, a preliminary draft of which he sent to King Henry VIII in March, 1524. The observation of the simultaneity of these two treatises which at first glance seem to show a highly contradictory mode of thinking about the Lutheran issue on the part of Erasmus, justifies Professor Thompson's statement that "the place [of *Inquisitio de Fide*] in the history of Erasmus' religious opinions and of his relations with Luther is more considerable than has been commonly realized" (p. v). As Professor Thompson sees it, "the probable explanation" for its publication at this particular moment and for its peculiar form was that Erasmus wanted "not only to remind the two parties that they agreed upon the *essential* [Mr. Thompson's italics] articles of Christianity but that they might have prevented schism by recognizing such agreement as more important than any disagreement over other and less essential matters" (p. 3). In his introduction Professor Thompson demonstrates the probability of this thesis by means of a thorough and illuminating investigation of Erasmus' attitude toward Luther from 1516 to 1524, and on the basis of an analysis of the meaning of *Inquisitio de Fide* itself. The edition of the Latin text is based on that in J. Clericus' edition of 1703 of Erasmus' *Opera omnia* (corrected in a few places by the text in the Basel edition of 1540) and is accompanied by a revised version of Nathan Bailey's translation of 1725. In the elaborate and erudite commentary (pp. 75-126) special attention ought to be given to Professor Thompson's discussion of the views held by Christian thinkers from early times to the days of Erasmus himself concerning the problems involved in the maxim "*Nulla salus extra Ecclesiam*" and its bearing upon the fate of the virtuous pagans (pp. 101-21). After this exemplary edition it is to be hoped that Professor Thompson will soon be able to fulfill his promise of an edition of the complete *Colloquia*.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Princeton University*

LUTHER AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION: THE CASE OF DIEGO DE UCEDA, 1528-1529. By *John E. Longhurst*. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 5.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1953, pp. 76, \$1.00.) This small volume has the double merit of presenting a case history of the Spanish Inquisition in its attempts to check the spread of Lutheranism; and, since Diego de Uceda was an ardent Erasmian, it also reflects the confusion in Catholic circles as to the relationship between Erasmus and Luther. Even though Erasmus' writings had been cleared in 1527 by the Inquisitor General, this first Erasmian to be arrested was charged with Lutheranism. The progress of the case is a rather frightening parallel to some modern procedures of trial by hearsay and association, since De Uceda was never told who was his accuser. The case involved long series of delays; accusations which the accused had no opportunity to refute, only to admit; unsubstantiated charges; conflicting testimony, some based on personal spite; finally, an auto-da-fe, purification on the scaffold and prescribed penance. In passing judgment on these events one must disregard some subsequent history. Lutherans, Erasmians, and other groups were still considered Catholics, as orthodox Catholicism was not defined before Trent (1545-63). The church sought to achieve conformity, but to what was not clear. Although Erasmus hoped to avoid identification with reform movements, only an expert theologian could distinguish between his teachings and those of Luther. In the words of the author: "Erasmus was never to escape the fate of a man who endeavors to pursue the path of moderation. In a conflict between ideologies there is no neutral ground." The author has masterfully handled material which might easily have become tedious and has successfully maintained reader interest and suspense throughout his informative and thought-provoking presentation. ERNEST G. SCHWIEBERT, *Baltimore, Maryland*

FUGGER UND HANSE: EIN HUNDERTJÄHRIGES RINGEN UM OSTSEE UND NORDSEE. By *Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz*. [Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, Reihe 4, Band 2. Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, Band 11.] (Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953, pp. xiv, 236, DM 14.80.) *Fugger und Hanse* deals with the conflict that arose between Fuggers and Hanse over Baltic and Russian trade, the international, and particularly Scandinavian, ramifications of this conflict, and its outcome when Fugger interests were increasingly directed toward the West. It shows that, despite their Hungarian investments and eastern connections, the Fuggers were not too seriously interested in the Hanse's chief market, Russia. Indeed, they seem to have renounced their eastern activities rather readily—significantly at the same time that the first great English joint stock company made Russia its primary objective—and wisely to have followed the westward shift of the European center of gravity. The book contrasts the new financial power of the great Augsburg merchants with the established power represented by the aging Hanse, the expansionist newcomer, producer, and banker with the wholesaler and traditional intermediary, the diplomatic upper-German with the militant Hanseate. However, it also shows that despite its gifted leaders, the individualistic South German firm was obliged to yield its place to rising western joint stock companies built upon a broader basis. Eventually, "world economic developments thus passed over upper and lower German enterprise alike" (p. 130). The work emphasizes the links between politics and finance. In their role as collectors of papal indulgences, in their relations with Denmark and Sweden, in their tangle of interests with German emperor, Protestant princes, trading towns, and English crown, the Fuggers were perpetually influencing the political scene. Indeed, at one time English indebtedness to the Augsburg firm affected all European policies

(p. 115) and "honor and business, religion and politics began to be hopelessly intertwined" (p. 66). So were—at least from the Fugger point of view—business and peace. Considering the amount of information offered on only 130 pages together with 100 pages of highly interesting notes and sources, the unprepared reader would perhaps prefer a simpler style and more detailed explanations; and he may occasionally disagree with certain conclusions. Yet, the German and English, Hanseatic and Scandinavian, political and economic historian will be grateful for the knowledge and perspectives which this excellent book conveys.

WALTHER KIRCHNER, *University of Delaware*

LA DÉFAITE DE BISMARCK: L'EXPANSION COLONIALE FRANÇAISE ET L'ALLIANCE RUSSE. By *Jacques Bardoux*, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Hachette, 1953, pp. 358.) Jacques Bardoux, distinguished French publicist, has now completed a substantial work in three volumes, entitled *Les origines de la guerre de trente ans*. Volume one, *La montée prussienne*, covered the years 1863-1865; *Quand Bismarck dominait l'Europe* carried the narrative to 1882; the third volume concludes the series, ending with the Franco-Russian Alliance, which the author views as "the liberation of France and the restoration of the European balance." With the European scene dominated by the Three Emperors' League and the Triple Alliance, French foreign policy was severely limited in scope and initiative. Colonial expansion, which had Bismarck's benevolent support, was the principal field open to Third Republic. The topics, therefore, that receive detailed treatment are the acquisition of Tunis, the loss of Egypt and the resultant Anglo-French tension, the limited entente with Germany during the Ferry ministry, and the continental isolation of France resulting from Bismarck's diplomacy in the years 1886-1890. From the standpoint of scholarship one could specify distinct faults and weaknesses in this work—meager documentation, incomplete references, scrambled citations, and dubious interpretations. Only the *Documents diplomatiques français* are fully exploited. These are supplemented by the French translation of *Die Grosse Politik* and the obvious memoirs and biographies. But the volume has strengths as well as weaknesses. It is marked by the mature and experienced political judgments of the author; the sketches of politicians and diplomats—particularly minor figures such as Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Spuller, de Gobelet, and de Florens, as well as Freycinet, Ferry, and Gambetta—are lively and realistic; the distinctly French appreciations of Granville, Gladstone, Rosebery, and Salisbury, are likewise illuminating. Also noteworthy is the author's cogent and critical analysis of the shortcomings of the French parliamentary system. Policy making suffered particularly from the indecision, disunity, and internal disintegration that beset French political life. All this is set forth in detail and capped by the harsh judgment: "*Je ne connais pas de défaite française, à laquelle des Français n'aient pas participé*" (p. 67). The insights, interpretations and judgments, as well as clarity and vividness of presentation, make this a work of great interest and substantial value.

ORON J. HALE, *University of Virginia*

THE ROAD TO SAFETY: A STUDY IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By *Arthur Willert*. With a Preface by Professor Charles Seymour. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1953, pp. viii, 184, \$3.50.) Sir Arthur Willert, the author of this book, was Washington correspondent for the London *Times* during the First World War and secretary of the British War Mission and representative of the Ministry of Information. He was later to have long service as head of the news department of the Foreign Office. His book has in many respects the marks of the journalist;

it is vividly written, broad in its view rather than intensive, sometimes rambling and discursive, but it gives an interesting picture of some of the personalities and problems of the years with which it deals. We get a clear understanding of the irascible Spring-Rice, of the energetic and uncontrollable Lord Northcliffe, of the tactful and adroit Sir William Wiseman, of the extraordinarily able Lord Reading. We get also some interesting pictures of President Wilson himself, who, from Sir Arthur's point of view, was at his greatest in the period of his war leadership. Much light is thrown too on the characteristic lack of co-ordination of British efforts in dealing with America. The judgments of this book are in many cases extremely penetrating. Sir Arthur understood well the American point of view. He sees the difficulties in the way of the realization of the Wilsonian ideal but deplores the failure of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Granting that the United States, as he says, would eventually have deserted Europe, he thinks that the acceptance of the treaty "might have made the whole difference" (p. 3). The United States might have been able, in co-operation with London, to control the reparations settlement in the interest of moderation and perhaps to guarantee, in concert with the British, France's eastern frontier. In this event, so Sir Arthur believes, the new Wilsonian order might have taken root. This is, of course, hypothesis, but it is suggestive hypothesis. So too are many other comments in the author's first chapter, "The Unfinished War," when he discusses international politics between 1919 and the present day. *The Road to Safety* is not a work of scholarship, but it has a very substantial positive value for the years of the First World War.

DEXTER PERKINS, *University of Rochester*

STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA. By *Vernon Bartlett*. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1953, pp. ix, 246, \$3.95.) This is a book for those who suddenly find Africa thrust upon them by press reports and are not sure just why they should be annoyed by still another trouble-spot. Mr. Bartlett, with an emphasis on South and British Africa, briefly surveys the very complex economic, social, and political problems of that continent. The book does not pretend to be more than a rapid glance, although the writer's journalistic experience has served him in good stead in some fleeting but keen observations made during two African journeys. The sum of these observations is that Europeans must accept as inevitable the rise of Africans to positions of leadership in all fields. Thus the writer is discouraged about the Union of South Africa and pleased with the Belgian Congo, where economically the native is rising, although the regime is carefully one of European paternalism. Both Central and East Africa with their permanent European populations present problems of government and land possession, problems for which Mr. Bartlett refreshingly has no snap solutions. This complicating element of permanent Europeans is not present in the Gold Coast or Nigeria, where British Africans have progressed rapidly and without violence. On the basis of the facts cited by the author, it is somewhat surprising to see his conclusion that Africans eventually will run Africa, with Europeans being partners but minority ones. Whether Europeans will be willing to develop Africa with this goal is highly problematical. The cursory treatment of non-British territories is unfortunate, particularly the mere glance at the vast French African empire. Mr. Bartlett's theory would seem to require more attention to Liberia and Ethiopia than the brief treatment they receive. These "independent" states have regimes resting more or less openly upon foreign economic and political support and do not afford altogether happy examples of African-European partnership.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

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Ancient History

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PLOUGH AND PASTURE: THE EARLY HISTORY OF FARMING. Part I: PRE-HISTORIC FARMING OF EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST by E. Cecil Curwen. Part II: FARMING OF NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES by Gudmund Hatt. [Life of Science Library, Number 27.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1953, pp. xii, 329, \$5.00.) This work is concerned with the techniques of man's quest for food. In

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the first section of the book, Dr. Curwen, a British archaeologist, views these techniques historically; in Part II, Dr. Hatt, the Swedish geographer and cultural historian, views them comparatively. The two parts of the book, written separately, are intended to supplement one another. Dr. Curwen deals primarily with the development of European agriculture and pastoralism from the ancient culture hearths which lay south of the forty-fifth parallel between the Nile and Indus valleys. He provides a simplified account of the origins and development of Old World farming and herding methods, with chapters on the evolution of the plow, threshing devices, and mills. A number of entertaining examples of archaeological and paleobotanical method enliven the text. The changes from hunting and gathering, made possible by the domestication of plants and animals, and from peasant agriculture to industrial food production, are called "economic revolutions." In this way, and in others, Curwen's view is reminiscent of that of V. Gordon Childe in his books *Man Makes Himself* and *What Happened in History*. Dr. Hatt has written an extremely interesting comparative sociology of the food quest in Africa, Oceania, pre-Columbian America, and other areas. He posits, in his conclusions, a series of developmental stages of food production running from the level of gleaners and hunters through advanced pastoralism and plow agriculture. This is a book designed for the lay reader rather than for the specialist. It is simply written and helpfully illustrated with both sketches and photographs. Frankly evolutionary in its approach, it strongly emphasizes the role of the technology of the food quest as a prime mover in the development of human society. It is perhaps unfortunate that the work is not better integrated. Certain points, such as the relationship of settled agriculturists to pastoral nomads, might have been more fully elucidated had the two parts of the book been tied together more explicitly.

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Medieval History

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WESTERN CANON LAW. By R. C. Mortimer, Lord Bishop of Exeter, Sometime Lecturer in Early Canon Law in the University of Oxford. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 92, \$2.00.) Dr. Mortimer merits unreserved thanks for his public lectures on the history and meaning of canon law. To the best of my knowledge, these are the first *public* lectures on this topic ever delivered in the United States. In three chapters, Dr. Mortimer outlines the formation of the post-Nicene collections such as the *Dionysian*, the *Hispana*, and the *Hadriana*, all made in the classical tradition of the *Orbem Romanum*; the intrusion of the Celtic penitential books (adopted and adapted by the Anglo-Saxon and continental Germanic churches) with the resultant conflict between alien systems of discipline; the Carolingian reforms based upon Benedictus Levita's False Capitulary and the False Decretals of Isidorus Mercator (Pseudo-Isidore); the growth of the topical books of Burchard and Ivo, which culminated in Gratian's *Decretum* and the formation of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The fourth chapter sketches the development of substantive canon law in post-Reformation England; and the last chapter, "The Characteristics of Canon Law," sets forth the lecturer's view of the jurisprudence in the realm of canon law. Particularly laudable for turning the attention of law and history students to a little appreciated but illuminating source for Western institutions and ideas, these lectures ought to be recognized as an *aperçu général* with conclusions, and even facts, not sanctioned by a *communis opinio*. Nevertheless, when the lectures of Robertus Exon. are compared with those of Guilielmus Oxon. (see William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History*, 3d ed., 1900—the lectures on canon law were originally delivered in 1882), they furnish ample evidence of the continuing, though leisurely, study of canon law in England. The addition of Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge, 1931), and Alphonse Van Hove, *Prolegomena* (editio altera, Mechliniae-Romae, 1945), would have strengthened, immeasurably, the short bibliography.

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MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS HOUSES: ENGLAND AND WALES. By David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1953, pp. xxiii, 387, \$10.50.) This volume is a revision, with considerable additions, of the handlist compiled by Dom David Knowles and published in 1940 under the title, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England*. In the new edition, prepared in collaboration with Mr. Neville Hadcock, military orders, hospitals, and colleges have been added to the lists, as has also information on the income of each establishment, if available, and the date of dissolution. Dependencies appear in alphabetical position instead of under the name of the owning house. Notes, listed under the name of the house, appear at the bottom of the page instead of at the end of each list, a revision in form which simplifies reference. The alien priories have now been placed under the order to which they belonged, not in a separate list as in the older edition. If the character or existence of a house is in question, the name is shown in italics. The listing begins nominally with the Norman Conquest but for England actually includes almost all the houses founded after 943. The introductory historical essay is essentially the same as that in the 1940 volume, except for additional sections on the subjects noted above and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

a final section on the number of houses and of religious in the various orders from 1066 to 1540. This last section, based on the work of Mr. Hadcock, is supported by tables in an appendix. An excellent index and six useful maps conclude the volume. The new edition has four definite advantages over the 1940 edition: first, it is more complete, the additional lists being as great as the original lists; second, it is more informative, both in the material listed and in the content of the notes; third, the new arrangement of the contents facilitates reference; and fourth, the format is much improved, with a clear readable type and good spacing within lists. While no claim to finality or completeness is made, the compilers state that the book is "in many respects fuller and more informative than any previous catalogue of religious houses," a statement with which the present reviewer agrees. Every medieval scholar using the volume will have occasion to be grateful to Dom Knowles and Mr. Hadcock for their impressive labors. A companion volume on Scotland is in preparation.

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THE CHRONICLE OF JEAN DE VENETTE. Translated by *Jean Birdsall*, Late Associate Professor of History, Vassar College. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by *Richard A. Newhall*, Brown Professor of European History, Williams College. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. L.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. 354, \$5.00.) Despite the importance of official documents the medieval chronicle remains an important source for understanding particularly the human side of the story; and the chronicler, whether monk or layman from the thirteenth century on, often shows a considerable appreciation of the political, economic, social, and religious problems of his day. Even if Jean de Venette is no Giovanni Villani, giving statistical evidence for his statements, it is good to have his chronicle presented now in translation, and from a critically established Latin text, in the Columbia "Records of Civilization." Writing the history of France in the tragic period of 1340-68, this Carmelite friar offers a generally good picture of his own time of troubles, without taking sides in such struggles as that between Etienne Marcel and the regent Charles, without being either democratic or aristocratic in sympathies, but obviously grieving at the injuries inflicted on his own countryside and on France as a whole. One should read (p. 94) his poignant description of the desert made by the English in his local *patria*, Venette near Compiègne; describing the familiar things that could no longer be seen, he reveals a simple, pleasing love of nature. The translation, made by the late Jean Birdsall, is generally excellent and a pleasure to read. But I believe that *patria*, when used for France and the French, might well be translated as "fatherland" rather than simply "country"; and *res publica* is perhaps better rendered as "the commonweal" rather than "the state." Professor Richard A. Newhall has provided the text with an excellent introduction and apparatus of notes which are a mine of information about the events mentioned in the chronicle. His placing and dating of the authorship and discussion of the value of the chronicle are sensible and scholarly. His work is a notable contribution to the study of medieval historiography.

GAINES POST, *University of Wisconsin*

IBN KHALDŪN AND TAMERLANE: THEIR HISTORIC MEETING IN DAMASCUS, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A STUDY BASED ON ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS OF IBN KHALDŪN'S "AUTOBIOGRAPHY." Translation into English, and Commentary by *Walter J. Fischel*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. x, 149, \$2.75.) The English reader will soon be in a much better position to test the high praises heaped on Ibn Khaldūn by such writers as Arnold Toynbee

and George Sarton. A modern translation of the *Muqaddimah* or *Prolegomena* is scheduled to appear shortly from the pen of Dr. Rosenthal, and Professor Fischel states that he is preparing a translation of the entire text of Ibn Kahldūn's "Autobiography." The work under review "offers an English translation, with a commentary, of only that part of the . . . ["Autobiography"] which pertains to Ibn Kahldūn's historic meeting with Tamerlane in Damascus," and is based on newly discovered manuscripts. Professor Fischel gives such high priority to the chapters of the "Autobiography" here translated because they "shed light on Ibn-Kaldūn's relationship to Timur [i.e. Tamerlane] and on one of the most decisive phases of the history of the Mongol-Mamlūk conflict," and because this phase has been obscured by earlier writers. In addition to the translation (18 pages) and the commentary (72 pages), there is an introduction (28 pages including notes), chronology, bibliography, and indexes. On the whole this work, though not of major importance, is a model of scholarship. The translation is accurate, and the critical apparatus comprehensive and clear.

R. BAYLY WINDER, *Princeton University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

WRITINGS ON BRITISH HISTORY, 1939. Compiled by *Alexander Taylor Milne*. [Royal Historical Society.] (London, Jonathan Cape; New York, British Book Centre, 1953, pp. 310, \$4.50.) This is the sixth volume of annual summaries to appear, thanks to the bequest of Sir George Prothero, to the sponsorship of the Royal Historical Society, to the publisher, and especially to the ability and industry of the compiler. There are 3,385 entries for the year 1939, as compared with 4,893 for 1934 or 3,897 for 1938, a decline which undoubtedly reflects the uncertain conditions of 1938-39. Mr. Milne follows the same pattern he established in the earlier volumes. Part I has 67 pages of work on the auxiliary sciences, bibliographies, general books, and local histories. Part II, with 168 pages, contains six periods from

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles, except where otherwise indicated.

450 to 1914, with eight to fourteen subdivisions under each period. The final portion of the book is an appendix of 6 pages, with a select list of books on the period since 1914, and an index of 68 pages. The compiler has set for himself the commendable but impossible ideal of an exhaustive list of books and articles, in all languages, on British history for one year. Of the 3,385 items, 160 are in foreign languages: 47 in French, 44 in German, 24 in Italian, 23 in Welsh, 7 in Dutch, 7 in Latin, and 8 in some five other languages. Approximately 70 items are in articles and 90 in books. From my cross-checking and spot sampling, I conclude with gratitude that very few significant items have escaped Mr. Milne, and that the historian has a valuable and reliable guide to books and articles on British history in 1939. L.H.C.

MUSICIANS IN ENGLISH SOCIETY FROM ELIZABETH TO CHARLES I. By *Walter L. Woodfill*. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume IX.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. xv, 372, \$7.50.) The voluminous factual material expertly presented in this study on the place of the musician in English society from Elizabeth to Charles I is "partly in reaction to the statements . . . often encountered, in sober volumes, to the effect that 'every domestic hearth was the scene of musical performance of a very high standard' and that Thomas Kytson's Hengrave Hall was 'a typical example of a musical household at this time.'" The work accordingly has two purposes, one of which is critical. The book in the main pursues the first purpose and is an orderly account of the internal organization, wages, duties, and privileges of the company of London, the waits, cathedral musicians, household musicians, independent musicians and minstrels, and court musicians. Evidence is compiled from household records and inventories, municipal records, company and corporation accounts, etc. (Many selections from these sources are reprinted in the appendixes.) This compilation of data is then invoked to reassess the familiar picture of a "golden age of music," "a picture so charming and so beloved that it will not disappear soon, yet so patently unreal that the wonder is that only recently have scholars begun to correct it." By stressing the importance of the hitherto obscure waits, professional musicians who were municipally employed and protected, Mr. Woodfill brings the varied musical activities of the period into a new focus, although the important contribution of the amateur and the central fact of the music itself are outside the province of the book. Mr. Woodfill has made a brilliant contribution to the study of the economic and social status of the professional musician in Renaissance England, and produced an indispensable source for anyone interested in Elizabethan music and culture. The emphasis on economic realities reveals the important role of the stable professional, upon whom the continuity of musical culture so largely depends. HENRY G. MISHKIN, *Amherst College*

AN HUMBLE SUPPLICATION TO HER MAIESTIE. By *Robert Southwell*. Edited by *R. C. Bald*. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. xxii, 80, \$3.00.) The *Supplication* here reprinted, by the Jesuit poet Robert Southwell, is probably the most moving, temperate, and convincing of the many Catholic indictments of Elizabethan treatment of "Seminaries, Jesuits, and Traitors." It was written in passion and haste during December, 1591, in reply to the proclamation of two months earlier, and circulated in manuscript until its publication in 1600 by the Jesuits' opponents in the archpriest controversy. Southwell was a patriot as well as a Jesuit. In seeking to win England back to Catholicism by martyrdom, he wrote, "we thinke that we owe a most sincere and naturall love vnto our Cuntrie." "Disloyalty shall never be found the sequell of any Article of our Religion." Puritans

and sectaries are more unreliable subjects than Catholics. The 300 English priests are surely no real peril to the nation even if they were disloyal, which they are not. Yet "we are generally accounted men whom it is a credit to pursue, a disgrace to protect, a commodity to spoile, a gaine to torture, a glory to kill." The author has to cut several corners in his argument, particularly in trying to prove that Walsingham originated the Babington conspiracy and that papal bulls place no new burdens on Catholic consciences. But the real significance of the *Supplication*, as the editor points out, is that the patriotic Catholic position is here clearly argued for the first time—and by a Jesuit. Ironically, the Jesuit superior Garnett opposed its publication, and the government suppressed it ruthlessly after publication. Neither pope nor queen was yet ready to concede that a man might be a loyal Englishman and a devout Catholic at the same time. The text is well edited with an introduction, textual notes on variant readings, and a note on Donne and Southwell.

E. HARRIS HARBISON, *Princeton University*

THE GENTRY, 1540-1640. By H. R. Trevor-Roper, Student of Christ Church, Oxford. [Economic History Review Supplements.] (New York, Cambridge University Press for Economic History Society, 1953, pp. 55, \$1.00.) In the *Economic History Review* (XI, no. 1, 1947) Professor R. H. Tawney published an article of which the main thesis is obvious from its title, "The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640." Mr. H. R. Trevor-Roper not only attempts a refutation but also declares that the decline of the gentry (officeholders being the exception to the decline) accounted for "the rise of Independency in the Great Rebellion." He fires some resounding broadsides but whether they all hit the target is not clear. The evidence about the peerage, a much smaller body than the squirearchy, is the most convincing. That some noble families rose or declined is, however, a phenomenon by no means peculiar to the Elizabethan age, and is not to be attributed uniformly to any one cause, not even to the rise or fall of rents or prices, though the real incomes of all landlords were thus affected. The late Edwin F. Gay, in articles in the *Huntington Library Quarterly* ignored by Mr. Trevor-Roper, showed how the Temples, from virtually nothing, built up estates valued at £6500 by 1600 and at £3500 per annum fifty years later without holding any profitable public offices. The debt of £24,000 was in great measure due to a large family, mainly daughters wanting marriage portions ranging from £3000 to £1000, and to litigation. Mr. Trevor-Roper seems to neglect regional differences in incomes from rents and fines, and writes about periods of prosperity with more confidence than present knowledge of business cycles warrants. He appears to deny that there was any economic motive for acquiring land but makes such a motive the cause of the radicalism of the declining gentry. He places Cromwell in this group, in spite of the subscription of £500 or £600 for the reconquest of Ireland in 1642. Other leaders lent up to £2000 and John Hampden £1000. The size of the subscriptions does not suggest decline. Also, the loans were secured by land to be forfeited in Ireland. Surely it is strange that, if Cromwell and others were being ruined as landlords in England, they should be able and willing to invest in Irish acres which were not likely to be in their possession for many a long day. Hesilrige, a better example of a radical than Cromwell, not only invested £1200 in Irish lands but was notorious for acquiring church lands in England. And many of the radical pamphleteers do not complain that land was valueless but that it was still shackled with feudal bonds.

GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

HANSARD'S CATALOGUE AND BRIEF OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1696-1834. Reprinted in Facsimile with an Introduction by P. Ford, Professor of

Economics, and G. Ford, University of Southampton. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. xv, viii, 220, \$6.40.)

SELECT LIST OF BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1833-1899. By P. Ford and G. Ford. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. xxii, 165, \$4.50.) The Fords manifestly plan to survey the whole field of modern parliamentary papers. In 1951 their *Breviate* covering 1917-1939 appeared; now they have issued a *Select List* for 1833-1899 and reprinted the Hansard *Catalogue and Breviate*, long unavailable, covering the unreformed House of Commons. Further volumes on the twentieth-century papers are promised. The parliamentary papers of the nineteenth century number over 50,000; the *Select List* is a guide to about 4,500 of them. It includes material issued by bodies investigating economic, social, constitutional, legal, and administrative questions; excluded are papers relating to foreign affairs, already provided for by Temperley and Penson's *Century of Diplomatic Blue Books*, and colonial questions, covered by Adam, Ewing, and Munro's *Guide to the Principal Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Dominions, 1812-1911*. The material is arranged under seventeen headings corresponding to those in the *Breviate* for 1917-1939, but there is an additional one for Irish papers. Under each head or subhead the arrangement is chronological, giving for each listing the sessional year, printer's or command number, volume, and short title. These titles suggest the immense bulk and range of the materials available to the historian. At the same time one wonders along with the Fords if sometimes investigation did not get out of hand and become an end in itself; one doubts that the Labour Commission of half a century ago really digested the forty-nine volumes of evidence submitted to it. As the papers of the unreformed parliament were less numerous, Hansard's *Catalogue and Breviate* surveys the whole field. Here the entries are followed by summaries up to eighty-five lines in length. After the lapse of over a century this work, so well planned by Luke Hansard, son of Thomas Curson Hansard, is still usable.

CARL F. BRAND, *Stanford University*

THE CONCEPT OF EMPIRE: BURKE TO ATTLEE, 1774-1947. Edited by George Bennett, University Lecturer in Colonial History, Oxford; formerly Lecturer in History in the University of Toronto. [The British Political Tradition, No. 6.] (London, Adam and Charles Black; New York, British Book Centre, 1953, pp. xix, 434, \$4.00.) This volume continues the series of selections from contemporary documents on various aspects of the British political tradition begun in 1949 with Max Beloff's *The Debate on the American Revolution*. Though related to that book in subject as well as by membership in the series, Mr. Bennett's work is more akin in its scope and chronological sweep to James Joll's *Britain and Europe: Pitt to Churchill, 1793-1940*. The body of the book consists of 128 selections or groups of selections on colonial matters ranging in period from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century and in length from twenty lines to ten pages. The variety of the sources is great. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* and Shaw's *The Man of Destiny* rub shoulders with Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Hobson's *Imperialism*. There are excerpts from parliamentary debates, polemical pamphlets, campaign oratory, letters, magazine articles, and a radio broadcast. The presentation of the material is roughly chronological, but superimposed upon this arrangement is a topical treatment suggested by such section headings as "The Foundation of the Second Empire," "Economists and Radicals," "The Colonial Reformers," "Renewed Imperialism," "Criticism from the Left," and "The Achievement of 'Partnership.'" The misleading assumption that opinion moved neatly from one universally accepted formulation of colonial policy

to another is avoided by representation in each section of minority views and the echoes of conflict. The editor is sparing in comment, generally leaving the documents to tell their own story, but when explanatory material is needed headnotes are provided. Here can be traced the pragmatic attempts of British politicians and publicists to deal with the problems of empire. As freedom grows for the non-British dependencies as well as for the colonies of British culture, a question which Mr. Bennett poses several times in his introduction stands forth clearly: Can there be continued unity for the British Empire? "Is not the very expression 'Commonwealth' meaningless, unless there are some moral standards that receive general acknowledgment?"

PAUL L. HANNA, *University of Florida*

QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER PRIME MINISTERS. By *Algernon Cecil*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. vii, 356, \$6.00.) In addition to sketches of Queen Victoria and her prime ministers the author presents a vignette of his father, Lord Eustace Cecil, a younger brother of the third marquess of Salisbury, and for good measure a fairly long chapter entitled "Victoriana" and a brief "Epilogue." In "Victoriana" Mr. Cecil analyzes some of the characteristics of the Victorian era. The epilogue breathes nostalgia for that vanished epoch. Mr. Cecil states that his purpose with the book "was to study the relations of the Queen with her ten Prime Ministers, their influence upon the Queen and, most important of all, the influence of the Queen and her Prime Ministers in their collaboration on the politics and the social and intellectual climate of their day." He seems to consider this a rather simple purpose; actually he has undertaken a most formidable task—a task so great that it might have baffled a Walter Bagehot or a John Morley. It was clearly too ambitious an undertaking for Mr. Cecil. Still, students of Victorian Britain will read this charming book with pleasure. The study of his uncle, Lord Salisbury, is the longest and best in the series, that of Lord Aberdeen the shortest and poorest. Mr. Cecil is at his best when describing Conservative aristocrats and statesmen with literary interests such as Disraeli and Rosebery. Peel and his disciples elude him. With Lord John Russell and Palmerston he has little sympathy. Written toward the end of Mr. Cecil's life, this book has something of a Victorian afterglow.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

BRITAIN IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN. By *W. F. Monk*, Senior History Lecturer, Victoria University College, New Zealand. [Hutchinson's University Library: British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1953, pp. 196, trade \$2.40, text \$1.80.) Two tasks are undertaken in this rapid survey of three centuries. In the first place, Mr. Monk has pieced together the narrative of Britain's long and generally effective exertion of naval power in the Mediterranean west of Greece; in the second he has described the problems and experiments arising from the various occupations and annexations entailed in fulfilling British strategic and commercial needs. Not only Gibraltar and Malta, still parts of the empire, are accounted for but the interesting if not profoundly significant British periods in the histories of Tangier, Minorca, the Ionian Islands, Corsica, and even Sicily. In all these it appears clearly that strategic and local considerations, not general ideas of colonial policy, were decisive. The author's main thesis is that steady resolution to maintain a predominant position in the Mediterranean was a major determinant in Britain's achievement of world-wide empire. It was by naval bases and the use of allies in the Mediterranean that Spain and France could be defeated; while "the twentieth-century principle" of sharing control with France enabled the same force of strangulation to be applied to Germany. The present unloading of responsibility upon the United States shows

the Mediterranean still exercising its traditional role, that of making Europe a peninsula subject to effective pressure originating outside. Mr. Monk's main points seem clear and convincing, but lack of space has made it hard for him to develop them without ellipses and doubtful *obiter dicta*. Did Palmerston "never sympathize with the spirit of nationality anywhere" (p. 126)? Did events in the western Mediterranean contribute more than any others to the fatality of August, 1914 (p. 142)?

HENRY DONALDSON JORDAN, *Clark University*

THE ADVENTURES OF JOHN WETHERELL. Edited and with an Introduction by C. S. Forester. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1953, pp. 379, \$5.00.) Mr. Forester has sponsored the diary of an English seaman of Napoleonic times. No one knows more about such matters than Mr. Forester, as he constantly shows in the fascinating detail of his Captain Hornblower novels, and he has contributed a pleasant introduction and various helpful footnotes. He has given us about one third of the diary, the best third he says, telling of the impressment of John Wetherell in 1803, his service under a cruel captain in a British frigate, and his capture and long ten-year servitude in a French prison. John Wetherell was no ordinary foremast hand, although he had little formal education and conformed to type by having a sweetheart in every port. He was articulate, and Mr. Forester wisely lets the narrative run along with no patronizing attempts to point out misspelled words, other than the correction of a few proper names. Wetherell could write a good narrative and he could also draw charming pictures of full-rigged ships, many of which illustrate the book. His diary is not of great historical value, but it is fun to read, and it gives a remarkably detailed picture of the life of prisoners of war. Neither Wetherell nor his fellows gave way to despair. They were on the whole well treated, and they got a little money as pay from their captors and from funds at home. They earned more by working at various crafts, and most interesting of all, they set up an informal university in which they gave each other lessons in arithmetic, navigation, music, and languages. They organized a band, which was a local sensation. This is the impressive thing, how these ordinary Englishmen kept their minds active and their morale high through year after year of imprisonment.

HARDIN CRAIG, JR., *Rice Institute*

THE STRACHEY FAMILY, 1588-1932: THEIR WRITINGS AND LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS. By Charles Richard Sanders. (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1953, pp. x, 337, \$6.00.) That family history has many pitfalls needs only the proof of the pudding, and the best known member of the family whose history is here surveyed would by his own assertion scarcely have approved this example. "A biography should either be as long as Boswell's or as short as Aubrey's," Lytton Strachey once remarked; failing enormous and elaborate accretion, "let us have no half-measures; let us have the pure essentials—a vivid image, on a page or two, without explanations, transitions, commentaries, or padding." Dr. Sanders has contrived an informing book, but it is a dull one, and all the little homely touches cannot make it otherwise. Perhaps the fault lies in the family. The effect is that of walking down a gallery of family portraits dutifully, oh so dutifully, executed. Stracheys built railways, climbed mountains, repaired Indian finances, and accomplished good and noble deeds all the way from Somerset to the Moulmein Pagoda, but they'd be easier taken in small doses. The author unfortunately has swallowed them whole. This piling of Pelion on Ossa, and Olympus on both in achievement and eulogy alike makes the reader long for an oaf, a wastrel, even a downright bad 'un. The author finds few sentimentalists in the family; he should not have attempted to redress the balance. Of course there have been interesting Stracheys since the "first," but to detect them

amid the wearisome catalogue of names permits no nodding. Trivia are footnoted in a manner befitting a monograph on national policy, instead of being lumped in an appendix, published in the Somerset Archaeological Society transactions, or even tossed into a more common receptacle. It is highly questionable if this sort of venture should be encouraged. Think of a dreary succession of family histories. How horribly apt for doctoral dissertations. Every "Austinian" sonnet, every feeble quip, every preposterous pontification preserved. No family, however admirable, could ever survive its biographer.

CHARLES F. MULLETT, *University of Missouri*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE: A PORTRAIT, 1853-1953. Edited by *Claude T. Bissell*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. xi, 148, \$2.50.) This handsome and charming small book consists mainly of a series of informal historical essays—a medium in which, regrettably, American scholars seldom rival the facility and grace of their Canadian and British counterparts. In a sequel to his *History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927*, University Librarian W. Stewart Wallace "disentangles" the early history of University College from that of the university as a whole. The college was first organized as the instructional part of the university. Through historical accident, since the reorganization of 1887 the college has included only the departments of classics, English, ethics, German, and Oriental languages, and in some respects its separate identity is hard to distinguish. Yet it survives both in form and in spirit, as a very interesting and successful hybrid between an English college and a part of an American state university. In the other essays, administrators, professors, a distinguished alumnus, and an undergraduate deal entertainingly with university architecture, professorial personalities and contributions, university ideals, and student life. One is impressed with the vigorous tradition of individualism which the college has fostered in its students. The reviewer was disappointed only once. On page 14, Stewart Wallace regrets that the time has not yet come to tell the "inside history" of a student strike that occurred in 1895!

WALTON BEAN, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Paul Yuzyk*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. xv, 232, \$5.00.) In Canada, as in the United States, the ethnic composition of the population is a veritable mosaic of European groups plus fringes of other races. In respect to numbers the Ukrainians constitute the fourth largest group, following those of British, French, and German origin. They are considerably larger than any other Slavic group. Place names in Canada such as Bohdan, Shevchenko, Dnieper, Sich, Krasnohoro, and Ukraina indicate their presence and their historical traditions. The story of their migration from the steppes and woodland areas of East Europe to the prairies and parklands of western Canada is one of the dramatic threads in the history of Canadian settlement. It is also a comparatively recent development which goes back a little more than sixty years. Professor Yuzyk's book treats in detail the history of the Ukrainians in the province of Manitoba. The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, which sponsored Professor Yuzyk's detailed history, has done more than any other Canadian institution to encourage the study of ethnic groups. This book is greatly to be welcomed, containing, as it does, a wealth of information bearing on the social, political, and economic conditions not only affecting the development of the Ukrainian group but also reflecting the larger political issues of our day. It is interesting, for example, to note that the Uniate Church, established in East Europe in 1595 and now temporarily destroyed there by the Communists, has its strongest remaining branch in the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada. Professor Yuzyk, now a member of the

department of Slavic studies in the University of Manitoba, is himself of Ukrainian origin. He was educated in western Canada and in Minnesota—another dynamic center of various ethnic strains. He has done an excellent pioneer job based on extensive traveling, personal contacts, and wide reading in Ukrainian and English sources. This is an indispensable document for all those interested in Canadian history, sociology, or public affairs.

GEORGE W. SIMPSON, *University of Saskatchewan*

ALEXANDER OF TUNIS: A BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAIT. By *Norman Hillson*.

(London, W. H. Allen; New York, British Book Centre, 1952, pp. 252, \$3.50.) This uncritical biography of Lord Alexander covers a career of distinguished military service in two world wars, a term as governor-general of Canada, and extends to his present employment as Minister of Defense. Although it was doubtless not the author's intention, the over-all impression created by this book is that Alexander was a soldier of singularly limited intellectual interests. His leadership is repeatedly described as being of a "personal" nature. He is shown to be unfailingly concerned with physical fitness and bodily exertion. Abundant evidence is presented of Alexander's personal bravery and *sang-froid* but little explanation is offered for his remarkable success as a theater commander in the Middle East and Italy during World War II. Mr. Hillson's chapter on the Burma campaign conveys an exaggerated impression of Japanese troop strength. He not only gives Alexander's opinion in 1942 that the defensive in Burma might have prevented a Japanese invasion of India but adds his own testimony to the same effect. It should hardly be necessary in 1954 to point out that the Japanese had no intention to invade India in 1942. It would not affect Alexander's reputation as a soldier adversely to stress the fact that the comparatively small Japanese force which conquered Burma in 1941-42 had better leadership and training than the forces opposing them. Alexander is portrayed in these pages as being the force behind the British victory at El Alamein in October, 1942. He is quoted as being convinced that Rommel's concentration on the immediate tactical situation contributed to his weakness in the strategic realm. He criticized Rommel for not developing a strong defensive position in the rear of the line at El Alamein. Kesselring impressed Alexander as being superior in all elements of generalship to Rommel. Mr. Hillson's account of the Italian campaign (p. 160) repeats the line taken by Mr. Churchill that the American commander at Anzio, Major General John P. Lucas, like Stopford at Suvla Bay during the Gallipoli campaign of 1915, did not exploit the initial advantages of the landing. He shows that General Alexander strongly opposed the invasion of southern France (ANVILL) and advocated instead an invasion of the Danubian basin and southern Germany. It is interesting to observe that at the close of the war Field Marshal Alexander was not particularly impressed by the atomic bomb or the strategic air attacks on Germany and Japan.

H. A. DEWEERD, *Santa Monica, California*

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series Five (Medical). Volume II, MIDDLE

EAST AND FAR EAST. By *Allan S. Walker*. (Canberra, Australian War Memorial, 1953, pp. xvi, 701, 35s.) Australia's official history of the Second World War is to consist of twenty-two volumes, organized in five series covering the three armed forces, civil matters, and the medical services. This useful and interesting volume is the second of four in the medical series, the first having covered specifically clinical and professional matters. It is concerned with the organization and operations of the medical services of the Australian Army in the campaigns in the Mediterranean and Far East theaters, and also deals with organization and policy in Australia itself.

Specifically, it deals with the operations in North Africa (through the El Alamein battle), Greece, Crete, and Syria, as well as with the early and unsuccessful campaigns against Japan. The later "island campaigns" in the Pacific will be the subject of another volume. The present book, though primarily medical, throws some light on general policy and on events at large. A considerable part of it, which is of special interest, deals with medical work in prisoner-of-war camps. About 15,000 Australians became prisoners at the fall of Malaya. Over 4,000 of them died in captivity as the result of conditions in the Japanese camps. Many more would have died but for the devotion and ingenuity of their own doctors. Dr. Walker shows commendable restraint in dealing with these matters, but the facts need no emphasis. The author, a former senior officer of the Australian Army Medical Corps, has been able to draw on his own knowledge and experience. The book is entirely undocumented and there is little indication of the nature and scope of the records used, but it is obviously the product of careful investigation. This reviewer has been able to find very few errors. The most surprising is the statement on page 26 that Australia made an "independent" declaration of war against Germany in 1939.

C. P. STACEY, *Ottawa, Canada*

THE FOUR GLORIOUS YEARS. By *David Hogan*. (Dublin, Irish Press, 1953, pp. 404, \$2.00.) In the pages of David Hogan's new book the stirring events of 1917-1921 in Ireland, "when the nation made its bravest effort for freedom," live again with poignant vividness. The author himself took an active part in the events he describes. The years of which he writes were full of tragedy, and they "ended in darkness"; but to Hogan they were nevertheless "glorious years" because of the idealism and self-sacrifice of those who fought against such heavy odds for Ireland's freedom. Among the most memorable descriptions are those of the first by-elections which Sinn Féin won in 1917; the first Árd-Fheis of Sinn Féin in October, 1917; the Irish opposition to conscription; the general election of December, 1918, in Ireland, in which Sinn Féin scored a resounding victory; the declaration of independence by the Dáil Éireann in January, 1919, "historically the most important document in the archives of modern Ireland"; the work of the land courts established by the "Irish Republic"; the exposure of British methods in Ireland by the underground newspaper, the *Irish Bulletin*; the hunger strike in Mountjoy Jail in the spring of 1920; Hogan's months in hiding, on "a pilgrimage to no set destination"; the vicious war between the Irish Volunteers and the British Auxiliaries and Black-and-Tans; De Valera's American mission of 1919-1920; the capture and destruction of the custom house in Dublin in May, 1921; and the long negotiations leading to the Anglo-Irish treaty of December, 1921. Hogan does less than justice to the motives of Griffith, Collins, and the other Irish plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty. To him, as to De Valera, the abandonment of the demand for the complete independence of all of Ireland gave away "that one desire which had filled, not this generation only, but every generation of Irishmen down into the long past." The decision of the Dáil, by a narrow margin, to approve the treaty, was in his mind the event which "saw Irish unity melt away and the nation lie helpless at last before the will of her enemy." Only after years of civil war were unity and independence in a truncated Ireland at last achieved. This is a highly partisan account, written without bitterness and with a deep sense of the stakes involved. It is not history, but it is the stuff of which history is made. It is an eloquent reminder to the present generation of Irishmen of the way in which Ireland was nobly served in "the four glorious years" of a generation ago.

NORMAN D. PALMER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLAND ON THE FRENCH AGRONOMES, 1750-1789.

By André J. Bourde, Lecturer in French History and Institutions in the University of Manchester. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 250, \$6.00.) Dr. Bourde's monograph does not so much

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

argue a thesis as present a thoroughgoing survey of the improvements in agricultural technique that were advocated—and rather widely adopted—in France during the last four decades of the Old Regime. The available materials have been exhaustively used; the literary presentation is admirably lucid; the book is rationally organized, with every topic arising in its logical order and with a judicious distribution of emphasis; the conclusions are temperate. In short, there is very little that a reviewer can take exception to. It will therefore be more useful to indicate the value of the contribution made by the study to our knowledge of agricultural developments in eighteenth-century France. From one point of view it may be observed that many of Dr. Bourde's general conclusions (apart from the detailed information he provides) do not come as a surprise to anyone familiar with the writings of Lefebvre, Labrousse, Weulersse, Sagnac, Sée, and Marc Bloch. A considerable number of influential Frenchmen, of whom Duhamel du Monceau is perhaps the best known and the most important, were actively interested from about 1750 onward in the application of science to agriculture. They naturally turned to England for examples of advanced farming techniques, but they also experimented independently, energetically, and to good purpose. The English influence was very important in a number of ways, and if anything Dr. Bourde exaggerates its role by choosing not to investigate other foreign influences (such as the Dutch, Flemish, and Italian), which were, of course, relatively minor. But the imitation of England was by no means slavish, as more than one episode in Dr. Bourde's account will illustrate. Probably the most important contribution of Dr. Bourde's study is to retouch the altogether too gloomy picture that many writers appear to have of French agricultural practices in this period. This picture doubtless originated in the writings of eighteenth-century economists and physiocrats who were agrarian theorists rather than technologists. These theoretical writings have long been the most frequently used sources of information about the practices of the period, and it is fortunate that their distortions can now be fully corrected in the light of the new and very extensive documentation which this study makes available.

RALPH H. BOWEN, *Columbia University*

FRENCH THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: ROUSSEAU, VOLTAIRE, DIDEROT. By *Romain Rolland, André Maurois, and Edouard Herriot*. With an Introduction by *Geoffrey Brereton*. (New York, David McKay, 1953, pp. xxiii, 428, \$3.00.) The "Living Thoughts Library" has hitherto published small volumes of selections from individual writers. Now we are offered in one inexpensive volume a trilogy, consisting of the previously published selections from Rousseau and Voltaire, with introductions by Rolland and Maurois respectively, plus a new collection of excerpts from Diderot, introduced by Edouard Herriot. Even "enlightened" French thought of the eighteenth century included much more than the work of these three. Yet these varied selections taken together give considerable insight into the thought and literary devices of the French Enlightenment, and the result is a useful book for students and professors to whom Rousseau, Voltaire, and particularly Diderot are little more than names in textbooks. The selections are extensive enough to give a reasonably clear impression of the writers' thoughts, yet short enough to make it possible to sample in one short volume the wide range of their intellectual interests. From Rousseau there are the familiar things, including an interesting selection from the didactic sections of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Voltaire is similarly represented by the familiar writings. The pages of Diderot come from a wider variety of sources. *The Nun*, *Rameau's Nephew*, and the *Encyclopaedia* are drawn on, as well as several lesser known works, plus his correspondence. Diderot in English is not readily available, and so this breadth of offering is particularly wel-

come. The three editors have written useful introductions to their respective sections. The essay by Rolland on Rousseau is supplemented with brief, although not always pertinent, introductions to each of the selections. There remains to be mentioned the general introduction to the whole volume by Geoffrey Brereton. In a short essay he has managed to say a number of important and interesting things about the thought of the period and its legacy to later periods, the key concepts of Reason and Nature, and the social setting of the Enlightenment.

GORDON H. McNEIL, *University of Arkansas*

MÉMOIRES DU PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND (ET CE QU'IL N'A PAS DIT).

Edited by *Paul Léon*. Volume I. (Paris, Henri Javal, 1953, pp. 270.) M. Léon's new version of the controversial Talleyrand memoirs constitutes the first serious attempt to supplant the long out of print edition of the duc de Broglie (5 vols., 1891-92). But this expensive and profusely illustrated first volume in a contemplated series of seven, under the direction of a professor of French art history at the Collège de France, should not be considered the beginning of a definitive edition. Like Broglie, M. Léon has not had access to the original manuscript, which was spirited away by Talleyrand's heirs, the duchesse de Dino and Adolphe de Bacourt—both confirmed "co-authors" of the memoirs and indefatigable champions of the Talleyrand legend. Unlike Broglie, whose annotations and notes remain unsurpassed, the present compiler has eschewed the exacting task of a critical edition. Reproducing the text and chronology of the duke's first volume, from Talleyrand's birth in 1754 to Erfurt in 1808 (leaving a section on the duc d'Orleans for a later volume), M. Léon's claim to originality rests on the merits of a clearly written forty-page prefatory reconstruction of Talleyrand's life during those years. With the elusive title of "ce qu'il n'a pas dit," Léon, largely from well-known secondary sources, seeks to fill in the lacunae and thin spots in the feline diplomat's memorial: "what he did not say" about his sacerdotal and episcopal career, his early ties to Napoleon, his marriage, his seven years in the foreign office and his clandestine overtures for peace, his principate of Benevento, his duplicity in the d'Enghien and Spanish affairs, and his Erfurt betrayal. Exploiting the wide interest in Talleyrand's sexual and moral profligacy, Professor Léon neglects the statesman's historically more important activity between 1789 and 1791 in pioneering a constitutional monarchy, his ties during the Directory to the cabinets of Europe, his relations with the church in preparing the concordats, and his influence on Napoleon in fashioning imperial policy. M. Léon has promised an exegesis and history of the Talleyrand memoirs. This would be useful.

LOUIS S. GREENBAUM, *Paris, France*

FRENCH CORPORATIVE THEORY, 1789-1948: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY

OF IDEAS. By *Matthew H. Elbow*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 577.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. 222, \$3.75.) Although the Pétain dictatorship is often dismissed as a pale copy of its Italian and German counterparts, Mr. Elbow's study indicates that the corporative features of the Vichy regime were probably the outgrowth of an intellectual development that was over a century long and that was natively French. Buchez, Buret, the Social Catholics La Tour du Pin and De Mun, the royalist Charles Maurras, and others developed the theory that the misery and inequities of a machine-capitalist civilization might be ameliorated if the employers and employees of each industry would form corporations. These would administer insurance funds, provide technical schools, settle working conditions, regulate the quantity and quality of production, and perform other social and economic functions. The ideas of the intellectuals eventually affected

Pétain's perception of the situation, and he and his advisers enacted corporative theory into decrees that were not always obeyed. Recently De Gaulle has expressed corporatist velleities. The investigation of the long history of a single intellectual theme is strewn with snares and pitfalls, which are only partly avoided in this book. The ideas of each French corporatist are satisfactorily, if somewhat mechanically, summarized. The development and expansion of corporative theory is skillfully traced. Caution is commendably displayed in not always inferring influence from similarities of opinion, and modesty in not claiming too much for the importance of corporative thought or decrees in French history. The chief criticism is that the author is insufficiently informed about the historical complexity in which the corporative thinkers were moving. Tell-tale lapses betray a lack of feeling for the historical situation. To refer, for example, to De Gaulle's *Rassemblement du peuple français* as the *Rassemblement populaire français* is subtly revealing. The comparative ignorance of the social complexity is reflected also in the lack of fullness of interpretation as to why the theorists thought as they did. The book usefully accomplishes its purpose, "to present an historical and analytical account of French corporative theory," but it would have benefited (as what book would not?) from an additional period of reading and reflection. HAROLD T. PARKER, *Duke University*

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B. H. Wabeke

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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LANDSBÓKASAFN ÍSLANDS ÁRBÓK 1952. (Reykjavík, 1953, pp. 96). The usefulness of this annual library report is widened by a supplementary list of writings on Icelandic subjects, in languages other than Icelandic. O.J.F.

SEKSTEN ÅRHUSRIDS: TILEGNEDE SVEND UNMACK LARSEN, 23. SEPTEMBER 1953. Edited by Vagn Dybdahl, Bernhard Jensen, and Emmanuel Sejv. (Aarhus, 1953, pp. 361.) Several essays in this *Festschrift* centered upon the Århus community are of interest to the historian: "Højene på Vorbjerg banke" (H. Andersen); "Sønderjyder i Århus gennem 250 år" (A. Bonde); "M. P. Bruun—politikeren bag gadenavnet" (V. Dybdahl); "Socialdemokratiet og den kommunale lønpolitik 1900 til verdenskrigens slutning" (A. Jørgensen); and especially, "Ole Rømers *Triduum* i det 18. århundredes astronomi" (A. V. Nielsen). O.J.F.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF FREDERICK WILLIAM I OF PRUSSIA.

By *Reinhold August Dorwart*, Professor of History, University of Connecticut. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 250, \$4.00.) Actually, this brief and useful study is both less and more than what its title seems to suggest. It is definitely not a comprehensive account of the administration of this "greatest internal king" of Prussia. It is rather a rapid survey of the process by which the miscellany of haphazardly collected territories of the Brandenburg-Prussia of 1640 was fused into the autocratic, military, and bureaucratic monarchy of 1740. Its point of departure is the Great Elector's privy council ordinance of 1651 and it culminates in the establishment of the General Directory by Frederick William I in 1723. Since this process has been the favorite theme of historians such as Schmoller, Tuempel, Hintze, Stolze, Breysig, Oestreich, and latterly Fritz Hartung—whose masterful survey of Prussian institutional history before 1806, published by the Prussian Academy in 1942, seems to be unknown to the author—this book can scarcely be regarded as a wholly original study. Nevertheless Dorwart's essay will be welcomed as the only satisfactory study of this process in the English language, a study based on meticulous scholarship and an independent examination of the sources published by Mylius, Altmann, and in the *Acta Borusica*. It has the advantage of juristic precision and clarity and all the limitations, admittedly self-imposed, of a purely institutional history divorced from its political, economic, and social framework. Despite the careful workmanship of the author, this reviewer is unable to accept the latter's position that the whole subsequent departmental organization of Prussian administration is attributable to the privy council ordinance of 1651. Foreign affairs were never subject to the *plenum* of the privy council; finance was not assigned to it in 1651, and the military administration of the *Generalkriegskommissariat* was completely independent of it. Again, it is submitted that administrative history cannot be written in terms of bureaucratic instructions alone as Dorwart does in the case of the General Directory. Much of the book lacks the astringent quality of critical realism. The critical reader might feel disposed to pass over with indulgence the clumsy repetition of the faulty Latinity of Prussian bureaucratic jargon (*commissarius locus* instead of *loci*), but he will find it difficult to pardon in a book dedicated to the administrative reforms of Frederick William I the author's complete silence on one of the truly great administrative reforms of the entire reign, the reform of the land tax between 1717 and 1720.

WALTER L. DORN, *Ohio State University*

DIE HOFFINANZ UND DER MODERNE STAAT: GESCHICHTE UND SYSTEM DER HOFFAKTOREN AN DEUTSCHEN FÜRSTENHÖFEN IN ZEITALTER DES ABSOLUTISMUS. Volume I, DIE INSTITUTION DES HOFFAKTOREN-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

TUMS IN BRANDENBURG-PRUSSEN. By *Heinrich Schnee*. (Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1953, pp. 267, DM 22.) Heinrich Schnee begins by publishing his research notes before he publishes his results. The research is substantial, not to say enormous. No less than forty-two archives are listed as having supplied his materials. The bibliography and the footnotes reflect an equally wide acquaintance with the literature. This is the first of seven volumes in which Schnee proposes ultimately to answer the question "how far the general theses of Werner Sombart in *Der moderne Kapitalismus* in regard to the decisive significance of the *Hoffaktoren* stand up or not." This volume is devoted to Brandenburg-Prussia. Volumes II to VI will be devoted to the other German states. Only in Volume VII will any attempt be made to answer the crucial question. Meanwhile this first volume presents the aspect of a biographical and genealogical dictionary of the individuals, nearly all Jewish, who functioned as court factors (and as mint masters and army suppliers) in the rising Hohenzollern state. Their familial and confessional involvements, their varying prosperity and misfortune, and their lawsuits are recounted with more than ordinary completeness. Unfortunately, of the answer to the author's fundamental problem, the operation of the institution, there is almost nothing. The function of the *Hoffaktor* is nowhere defined or even illustrated. Schnee does substantiate what was well enough known, that decade by decade from the seventeenth century down to the general emancipation, Jewish financiers grew steadily in numbers and importance. The problem of the book requires a sharpening of the concept of the state and especially of the distinction between the modern and not-modern state. Quite probably, the *Hoffaktoren*, like the Farmers General in France, were substitute devices that made it possible for the German states to retain the personal and localistic character and thus to remain non-modern. Economic life, of which finance is a function, also requires an examination or at least a recognition which Schnee has not given it. Possibly these questions will be taken up in the still distant seventh volume. As it stands, the present volume contributes only to the history of Jewry in Prussia, and, in its way, to the history of Sombart's *Capitalism*.

F. L. NUSSBAUM, *University of Wyoming*

DIE BÄUERLICHE WIRTSCHAFT IM ZEITALTER DES DREISSIGJÄHRIGEN KRIEGES: DIE BEWEGUNGSVORGÄNGE IN DER KRIEGSWIRTSCHAFT NACH DEN QUELLEN DES KLOSTERVERWALTERAMTES HEILSBRONN. By *Ingomar Bog*. [Schriften des Instituts für fränkische Landesforschung an der Universität Erlangen, Historische Reihe, Band IV.] (Erlangen, Veste, 1952, pp. xiv, 180.) This is a solid but badly organized study in local agrarian history. It deals with a fraction of the small south German principality of Ansbach. Based on a substantial body of primary sources, the author traces, and not merely in quantitative terms, the destructive effects of the Thirty Years' War. His main emphasis, however, is placed on the less familiar. For the inquiry is focused on the ingenious methods which peasants and local officials learned to employ in their common fight against economic calamity and for personal self-preservation. Depression served as a spring of social innovation. Mr. Bog deepens our understanding of the complexities of the economic process of survival and revival under catastrophic war conditions. He creates a vivid picture of the fleeting ways of daily life which soldiers on the move "forced" upon small farmers and paternal local administrators. He describes their actions and counteractions. He also indicates the shift in outlook which accompanied the growth of a community of defensive interests among the resident population and promoted organized solidarity in action. This book is rich in information about farm management and the ups and downs of agricultural yields, prices, rents, dues, services, taxes, and war burdens. But it is overloaded with technical detail, often

repetitious and unrelated to the central theme. In numerous instances Mr. Bog simply gets lost in his sources. However, as a recompense he offers some penetrating observations and thoughtful comments.

HANS ROSENBERG, *Brooklyn College*

GESCHICHTE DER HOHEN KARLSSCHULE IN STUTTGART. By *Robert Uhland*. [Darstellungen aus der Württembergischen Geschichte, 37.] (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1953, pp. xii, 367, DM 18.) One can easily agree with R. Uhland that a new history of Die Hohe Karlsschule of Stuttgart, that queer but important educational enterprise of enlightened despotism, is mandatory. The earlier three-volume work by H. Wagner suffers from inaccuracy and disorganization. G. Hauber confined his study to an outline of the curriculum with a brief discussion of the teaching staff. Uhland, in his biography of the institution, undertakes to correct previous misconceptions regarding the origins of the school. In this connection he discusses at length all plans and suggestions preceding the opening of the "Pflanzschule" at the ducal residence, "Solitude," of Karl Eugen of Württemberg, the school's founder, Uhland emphasizes the important function of the school as a training center for future army officers with its liberal arts offerings secondary to its military program—in contradistinction to Wagner. The author purposes to offset some of the damage done to the reputation of both the school and its founder by the biographers of Friedrich Schiller, the school's most famous alumnus. Uhland at the outset evidently entertains an apologetic sentiment toward Karl Eugen which, in justice to himself, he need not have felt, for he actually brings out a well-balanced appraisal of the duke's character and actions. He has carefully described the school's metamorphoses from the recruiting in 1770 of fourteen soldiers' sons to be trained as gardeners and construction workers, through its development into a combined military academy and high school for future civil servants and, finally, to a university from which a total of 2000 students had graduated at the time of its closing in 1794. The administrative aspects of the school's organization, its admission policy (reflecting an enlightened evaluation of the individual's worth), and the educational policy are related to the various stages of the growth of the Karlsschule. The fascination of this school, however, as well as its horror lies in its setup, a sort of secular monastery for the breeding of servants of the territorial state, directed and dominated by Duke Karl Eugen himself. Boys were for years shut off from contact with even their own families, except for censored letters. To give some idea of the real impact of such an education on the individuals involved, careful biographical studies of the teachers as well as of the students would be necessary. Unfortunately the author has not included this aspect in his study to any satisfactory extent. As an institution the Karlsschule was, during the major part of its existence, a secondary school. The question arises: should not the real history of a secondary school be sought in the tracing of its influence on its students in their formative years?

WALTER GROSSMANN, *Harvard College Library*

BAYERN UND DAS REICH, 1918–1923: DER BAYERISCHE FÖDERALISMUS ZWISCHEN REVOLUTION UND REAKTION. By *Werner Gabriel Zimmermann*. (Munich, Richard Pflaum, 1953, pp. 202.) This hurried revision of a Ph.D. thesis seeks to cast new light on Bavaria's relations with the Weimar Republic. Most of the light shed here comes from the torches of Wittelsbach restoration and Bavarian particularism which the young Swiss author so doggedly carries. The chapters devoted to constitutional questions—rather less than half the text—are the most successful. Here with ponderous style and with enormous sympathy, Zimmermann outlines the mounting Bavarian opposition to the Weimar Constitution and all its works.

In doing so he avoids the mass of available primary materials and relies almost exclusively on standard secondary works. The greater part of the book can be reviewed in terms of which relevant questions are raised and which are side-stepped. For example, in his chapter on Bavarian separatism—a subject so central to his study—he assigns one page of text to a discussion of separatist movements. Again, after asserting that the political consequences of Kahr's championship of post-*Freikorps* organizations are very important, he suddenly decides that "This is not the place to go into these things" (p. 106). Indeed nowhere in the text is there a meaningful discussion of Kahr. And, after observing in his introduction that the impact of the November Revolution is of "outstanding importance" to his study (p. 11), he asserts, late in his conclusion, that "there is not room here to investigate the problem of law and revolution" (p. 173). But so much of his book rests on the difficult argument that the Weimar Constitution—certainly a product of revolution—was unconstitutional because it broke sharply with a whole tradition of constitutional law, custom, and "psychical individuality" (pp. 119, 125 and *passim*). There is indirect value in the author's obvious bias: his book gives real insight into the mind of the partisan Bavarian monarchist. Zimmermann's solution for contemporary German problems is as simple as it is naive: the clock of history must be turned back and the monarchy restored. The author is forearmed against criticism of this solution. He concludes his remarkable book with the assertion that all objections will be "crushed and exposed in all their stupid superficiality" (p. 174) simply by quoting from a German romanticist who assures us that it is perfectly all right to "jump over intervening events and shove them aside if they oppose the pervading sovereignty of an ideal" (p. 174).

ROBERT G. L. WAITE, *Williams College*

GOVERNING POSTWAR GERMANY. By Edward H. Litchfield and Associates. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1953, pp. xvii, 661, \$7.75.) This extremely useful reference volume is the product of eighteen authors, almost all of whom have both an academic relation to the problems they attack and some measure of responsibility for developments in Germany since World War II. The topics treated include the evolution and present character of government on all levels, such processes of government as legislation, justice, and finance, and governmental functions such as labor relations, education, and police administration. Politics receive their due in concluding chapters on political parties and postwar elections and electoral processes. In contrast to so many works produced by a large number of collaborators, the individual contributions are distinguished by a great evenness of performance. This has been achieved without pressure being exercised by the editor to secure uniformity or anything in the way of a consensus of judgment. Thus no attempt has been made to erase evidence of disagreement between the authors when topics were subject to some overlap. Where blame has been assigned for failures or inadequacies of the occupation, the chips have been allowed to fall where they might. Criticism, however, is always employed with judicious restraint. As with reference works in general, this volume leans heavily on the descriptive side with a strong focus on contemporary situations and institutions. The history of the occupation is offered largely as a relation of their progress and development with a minimum of attention to the role of individuals and a tendency to evade the clamor of controversy. The first chapter, contributed by the editor personally, offers a brief but highly perceptive review of the political objectives of the occupation. The contradictions and reversals of policies that from the beginning plagued the effort to remake Germany are summarized with particular clarity. In general, though by no means in all matters, the tone of the book is distinctly but cautiously hopeful. Most of the authors appear to feel that the Federal Republic is

making progress toward a working democracy, and that both the government and the great majority of the people are firmly committed to a western course and to the fullest integration of Germany into a United Europe. There are over one hundred pages of appendixes with much useful statistical and other material not conveniently available elsewhere.

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH, *University of Minnesota*

DER JOSEPHINISMUS: QUELLEN ZU SEINER GESCHICHTE IN ÖSTERREICH, 1760-1790; AMTLICHE DOKUMENTE AUS DEM WIENER HAUS-, HOF-, UND STAATSARCHIV. Volume II, ENTFALTUNG UND KRISE DES JOSEPHINISMUS, 1770-1790. By *Ferdinand Maass*. [Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Zweite Abteilung: Diplomataria et acta, Band 72.] (Vienna, Herold, 1953, pp. xxxi, 559, cloth \$10.00, paper \$8.80.) The first volume of this projected three-volume series on Josephinism, published in 1951, covered the period from 1760 to 1769 and dealt in particular with the influence and activities of Chancellor Prince Kaunitz in modifying the traditional state-church relation in the province of Lombardy. This second volume, dealing with the years from 1770 to 1790, contains both the story and the documentation of the relations between the papacy and the Habsburg state during the last decade of Maria Theresa's rule and the reign of Joseph II. Again the chief Austrian participant, understandably even more successful under Joseph than under his mother, is Kaunitz. The prince looms large in the 125-page summary interpretative essay by Dr. Maass and in the 280 archival documents—many of them printed here for the first time. Indeed, 256 of the documentary entries represent communications by and to Kaunitz—in German, French, Italian, and Latin. The third and final volume, apparently, is to concern itself with the "inner churchly" reforms of the period, as illuminated particularly by the correspondence and memorials of Imperial Councilor von Heinke. The text deals in eight chapters with reforms in the Catholic order system; the state's reaching after church properties; the questions of the right of asylum, the inquisition, and church morality; the extension of tolerance to the growing number of Protestants; the assignment of benefices in Lombardy; the eventual subordination, over the decades, of the church to the state as its "servant and aide"; and the emergence of an Austrian church hierarchy which regarded itself as more in the category of state functionary than soul-saver. Throughout, it is obvious that the author regrets this trend and looks upon Kaunitz as the chief villain in the drama. But, since the documents are conveniently available in the remainder of the book, the reader is free to agree or disagree with Dr. Maass on the basis of his own interpretation. In any case, Dr. Maass has published archival sources of great value on a highly controversial and important subject.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

CIANO'S HIDDEN DIARY, 1937-1938. Translation and Notes by *Andreas Mayor*. With an Introduction by *Malcolm Muggeridge*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1953, pp. xii, 220, \$4.00.) This fragment of Ciano's diary is marked by deficiencies similar to those that characterized the *Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943*, reviewed in this journal (LIV [October, 1948], 131-33). It is an open question whether these deficiencies are attributable to the carelessness, the incompetence, or the lack of integrity on the part of the publishers, the editors, and the translators. Thus—barring the remote possibility that Mr. Mayor, *et al.*, have used an Italian text we have not seen—we find in the only Italian version that has been published (Ciano, *1937-1938 Diario*, Bologna, 1948) a passage concerning an American journalist which is completely omitted from the English text before us. According to the passage, the journalist (whose name is given) asked Ciano for a loan and received one amounting to 20,000 lire—a not inconsiderable sum in those days. No explanation is given for the omission of this passage (although more than one easily suggests itself) or for the omission, under another date, of remarks concerning the wife of a foreign minister. In other entries, an American visitor is made to say what Ciano himself said, the word for "Negroes" is transformed into "niggers," and so on. Just as the *Ciano Diaries* began, somewhat artificially, with the entry for January 1, 1939, so the "hidden" 1937-1938 diary begins, somewhat artificially, with the entry for August 23, 1937. Ciano became foreign minister in 1936, and there is every likelihood that he made diary entries for the period before August 23, 1937, and even antedating his assumption of duties at Palazzo Chigi. This is as good an occasion as any to suggest that it would be an excellent idea for one of our many foundations or institutes to find a way of bringing together, in a more or less convenient place, the original manuscripts (or microfilm) of diaries, memoirs, etc., that have suffered or are likely to suffer from mutilation and the like, thus affording scholars an opportunity to resolve whatever questions they might have regarding the integrity of a text.

G. M.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson¹

A HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By Sir Bernard Pares. With a New Introduction by Richard Pares. (Definitive edition; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, pp. xxxvii, 611, xxxi, \$7.50.) As Sir Bernard Pares, a pioneer in Russian studies in Great Britain, introduced many Americans to Russian history, the publishers have brought out a definitive edition of his *History*, with an introduction by his son, and an excellent bibliography by Eleanor Buist. If they hoped to provide a textbook, however, they have not been wholly successful. Too discursive and lacking a didactic presentation and with almost nothing on recent developments, this volume is not suited to classroom use. Probably it will be chiefly serviceable to the general reader as an introduction to

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Russian history. Out of his lifetime of study Sir Bernard has in brilliant fashion presented valuable insights into the Russian past. The various parts of the book are, however, of uneven worth. An analysis of the early centuries, perhaps too detailed for American readers, is followed by an excellent treatment of Peter the Great. On the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on the other hand, it is somewhat thin, especially on economic development. The account of the Soviet period is disappointing, with the civil war of 1918-1920 almost omitted. Soviet diplomacy from 1928 to 1940 is covered superficially, and the treatment of the first five-year plan leaves something to be desired. The author discusses the Russo-German war more thoroughly, although not all of his readers will approve the almost nationalistic tone. Finally, in the last chapter, written about 1947, he presents merely his hopes and desires for Soviet-Western relations. (They have not been realized.) Thus the whole postwar period, of such vital interest today, is almost untouched. It is regrettable that this edition of Pares's *History* fails to achieve the success that the author's admirers would have wished.

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Duke University*

RUSSLAND: STAATLICHE EINHEIT UND NATIONALE VIELFALT. By *Georg von Rauch*. [Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München, Band 5.] (Munich, Isar, 1953, pp. 235, DM 15.60.) Professor Rauch of the University of Marburg has written a useful survey, the first so far undertaken in any Western language, of the federalist idea and forces in Russian history. The Russian Empire was, as a result of the annexation of the Tartar kingdoms, the Ukraine, the Baltic duchies, and the Caucasian nations and tribes, a multinational empire. The situation was further complicated by the traditions of autonomy of Poland and Finland and by the conquest of Central Asia. Nevertheless the Russian government and the overwhelming part of Russian educated public opinion insisted on a Russia one and indivisible, founded on Count Uvarov's trinity of autocracy, orthodoxy, and (Russian) nationality. With the awakening of the dormant nationalities in the age of nationalism, the problem of satisfying their demands for autonomy and self-determination became more acute. Professor Rauch discusses the various plans for federalization, advanced from time to time either by Russian liberals or by the nationalities themselves. Interesting chapters deal with the representatives of the Baltic Germans like Count Alexander Keyserling and with early spokesmen of Ukrainian nationalism like Michael Dragomanov. The importance of the nationalities became manifest with the constitutional awakening of Russia. The first Duma counted only 265 Great Russians among 524 deputies, and in the second Duma the United Ukrainian party of 60 members created a sensation by demanding national autonomy. It was rejected not only by the government, which quickly changed the constitution so that in the third Duma 377 Great Russians faced only 36 representatives of other nationalities (who formed more than half of the population), but also by leading Russian liberals like Milyukov and Struve. No more talk was heard of "accommodating the legitimate needs" of the non-Russians, but only of "strengthening the greatness and might of indivisible Russia." Stolypin hoped to defeat the revolution by turning Russian nationalism against the non-Russian peoples, whose illusions of support by Russian liberalism were cruelly destroyed. Their attitude helped to determine the outcome of the civil war after the March revolution. Only the Social-Revolutionaries embraced the popular demand for national autonomy and gained thereby the majority in all free elections. The Russian liberals, the Mensheviks, and the provisional government continued to think along the old tsarist lines of Russian nationalism and missed the opportunity of creating, with the help of the non-Russian peoples through recognition of their demands, a united anti-Bolshevik front. The Bolsheviks, among other easy promises,

promised the autonomy and independence of the subject nationalities of the Russian Empire. The unregenerate Russian nationalism of the White generals saved the Bolshevik regime at its most critical hour. The questions which Professor Rauch discusses are still unsolved today. His book will be helpful to students both of the nationalism of the peoples of the Russian Empire and of the Soviet Union.

HANS KOHN, *City College of New York*

THE NORTHERN SEA ROUTE: ITS PLACE IN RUSSIAN ECONOMIC HISTORY BEFORE 1917. By *Constantine Krypton*. Foreword by *Michael M. Karpovich*, Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York, Research Program on the U.S.S.R., 1953, pp. ix, 194, \$2.25.) Mr. Constantine Krypton, an émigré scholar from the Soviet Union, has in this useful short volume produced a pioneering study on an important subject. As Professor Karpovich points out in the foreword, numerous books and articles on the northern sea route have recently appeared, but most of them deal with matters of navigation and exploration rather than with economic significance. Mr. Krypton shows that it was not natural or technical obstacles but economic factors and the policy of the imperial government which retarded for a time the development of the route. He discusses the conflicting interests and views to be found in business circles and in the government regarding the advisability of extensive utilization of the route, and the fears among both groups of the potential strength of Siberian regional interests and of foreign (especially Norwegian and British) economic penetration of the Arctic. The author uses much source material from Siberian and Leningrad archives inaccessible to Western scholars. In this study, which is not marked by any lengthy discussion of causes or effects, the building of the Trans-Siberian railway emerges as a crucial factor in developing the sea route. The railway not only "increased the need for routes complementary to the new line," but one result of the choice of the southern rather than the northern alternative route for its construction—a choice influenced by the need to transport and supply increased peasant migration—was that a greater burden fell upon the Arctic sea route. Following the expedition of 1893, the importance of the route increased rapidly. As this book ends with 1917, one awaits with eagerness Mr. Krypton's completion of his story in a second volume projected to cover the Soviet period.

DONALD W. TREADGOLD, *University of Washington*

SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE. By *Raymond L. Garthoff*, Social Science Research Staff, the Rand Corporation. With a Preface by *H. A. DeWeerd*, Chairman, Department of History, University of Missouri. (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1953, pp. xviii, 587, \$7.50.) *Soviet Military Doctrine* is presented as another study in the Rand Corporation series initiated by Nathan Leites's *The Operational Code of the Politburo*. Although described as a contribution to a research program for the U.S. Air Force and dealing with highly technical matters, it is written, with some professional advice, by a layman; he has used mainly official field regulations and manuals, numerous professional books, pamphlets, and periodical articles, German and Allied comments, and interviews with expatriate officers. Its chief theme is Soviet concepts of strategy and tactics, with considerable attention to organization but with scant attention to problems of personnel and only incidental reference to material; logistics is disposed of in five pages. Since the book is concerned with current doctrine, no attempt is made at a narrative account of the recent war. Instead, applications of doctrine are indicated under various topical headings, and it is made clear that, notably with respect to "The Communist Theory of Morale," doctrine and practice often do not coincide. Two points are emphasized throughout. One is the primacy of the

infantry, to which artillery, tanks, cavalry, engineers (so far as they are a distinct service at all), air force, and navy are merely auxiliary. Despite condemnation of "The Fallacy of the Single Weapon," the rule is that "infantry commanders head the combined forces in the field." The other point is the high degree of centralization of command, deliberately sacrificing initiative at the lower echelons. Nowhere is this more strikingly illustrated than by the organization and direction from Moscow of "partisan" warfare behind the German lines. To the nontechnical reader the most interesting portion of the book may be the opening sixty pages, in which are surveyed the ideological bases of Soviet military doctrine. The conclusions are not surprising: "(1) Marxism-Leninism exerted relatively little direct influence. . . (2) The influence of the Imperial Russian Army and doctrine is very considerable. (3) Foreign military influences, notably the ideas of Clausewitz, have contributed. . ."

JESSE D. CLARKSON, *Brooklyn College*

SOVIET EMPIRE: THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA AND STALINISM. By *Olaf Caroe*. (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1953, pp. x, 300, \$5.00.) Half of Sir Olaf's newest book, after an introduction on geography and peoples, surveys the history of Russian Turkistan from the Arab conquest through Mongol and tsarist periods to the Soviet reconquest after the Basmachi revolt. Most of the remainder analyzes Soviet methods of controlling the nationalities in this, Russia's most important colony, by administrative divisions, colonization, settlement of nomads, industrialization, forced collectivization, water control, and education. Using Russian statistics, Sir Olaf concludes that the Soviets have pursued a policy of genocide here. Generally he believes that Soviet imperialism is tsarist imperialism writ large: it is the "same flood" over Turkistan. He reviews also the literary and military evidence of an uncrushed nationalist spirit among Eastern Turks, and half-predicts a renaissance in Turkistan, Muslim but nonclerical. The cause still commands devotion, he says. "It is hard for us, who look on, to conclude that a United Turkistan is an unrealizable dream not worth fighting for." This is a valuable book. It is the only account in English of the history and present status of a vital region. It uses a wide range of sources, but principally Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan's *Bugünkü Türkî ve Yakın Tarihi* [Turkistan of Today and Its Recent History], a basic work in Turkish. Sir Olaf's emphasis on the human spirit, not on mere policies and statistics, is important. In other ways, the book is disappointing. Halfway between a popular and a scholarly work, it is neither another Schuyler nor the thorough study of Turkistan that we need today. Sir Olaf has left considerable material untapped. His translations from Togan's Turkish, though they never distort the sense, are often inaccurate or incomplete. He gives little consideration to Turkistan's place in Soviet foreign policy or in world politics, though his experience on the northwest frontier and in India's foreign policy before 1947 must have given him perspective and detailed knowledge in this regard. The footnotes, unfortunately, are so incomplete as to be irritating. *Soviet Empire* is nevertheless a good job. It should not only provide students of Russian history with useful material and viewpoints but should prod them to continue investigation of a crucial area they have too long disregarded. RODERIC H. DAVISON, *George Washington University*

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Near Eastern History

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CAUCASIAN BATTLEFIELDS: A HISTORY OF THE WARS ON THE TURCO-CAUCASIAN BORDER, 1828-1921. By W. E. D. Allen and the Late Paul Muratoff. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. xxi, 614, \$14.00.) For anyone who is concerned about some military unit, or the precise location in which some party may have had a share in one of the many campaigns of the Russo-Turkish wars of the years 1828-1921, this book is a godsend indeed. It is so pronouncedly technical and detailed though, that, as the authors frankly concede, you must have before you constantly one or more of the numerous excellent military maps with which the work is supplied, if you are to follow at all intelligently the story that its text actually conveys. The reviewer can truthfully say that he has read carefully every page of the work, yet he has not been able to discover a single error in a statement of facts, or even in the reading of proofs. What is lacking in this noteworthy book, a book that is based fundamentally upon both Russian and Turkish sources, is interpretative sections and the projection of the sort of insights and conclusions which delight historians. There are judgments passed in abundance as to the competence of this or that Russian or Turkish officer, and there is included something of significance

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

concerning the temper and outlook of the various native elements of the Caucasus and of their conflicts with their Russian rulers in the period covered. Furthermore, we get here perhaps for the first time in secondary literature a sound evaluation of the very erratic role that General Loris Melikov played in the management of Russian operations in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, of the equally erratic and even adventurist ways of Enver Pasha in projecting pan-Turanian operations eastward from Turkish Armenia in the era of World War I, and of the very impressive and competent management of Russian operations by General Yudenich against the Turks in the various campaigns of 1914-16. Nevertheless, in a general evaluation of the work the reviewer, while recognizing its precise accuracy, thinks of it largely as an ocean or a desert. There is an abundance of water or of sand in the book, but only occasionally an island or a bit of green. FRED S. RODKEY, *University of Illinois*

SEVEN FALLEN PILLARS: THE MIDDLE EAST, 1945-1952. By *Jon Kimche*. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1953, pp. xxv, 439, \$4.00.) The author, an English correspondent, opens this American revision of a volume first published in England in 1950 thus: "The Middle East is becoming an American, rather than a British, headache. . . . Can American capitalism embark in this area on a progressive social policy . . . and . . . find willing allies among the local peoples. . . . it cannot, unless Americans are willing to study the lessons of the past and profit from the mistakes which the British have made." With heavy concentration on Palestine affairs, the book reviews developments in the area and pronounces judgments on events in Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Palestine, Jordan, and on the misguided policies and leaders (Ernest Bevin is the villain) responsible. An early statement summarizes the gist of all and indicates why one must use this book with caution: ". . . the hallmark of Britain's, America's and Russia's Middle Eastern policies during these sixty years [1890-1950] has been bluster, bullying, bribery, and the very opposite of domestic reform." Could America fairly be said to have had Middle East interests or policy comparable to those of the other powers during the nineties, or even, for that matter, until the 1940's involved the United States suddenly and without intention on its part? If not, what of the validity of the author's statement? It suggests the limitations of a journalistic approach to contemporary history. One of these is factual inaccuracy or inadequacy, as illustrated in the vague and misleading account of the American military missions to Iran and the bestowal on General Schwarzkopf of the name "Leonard"; or by a general unsureness in evaluating sources which unsteadies the reader's confidence in factual pronouncements. Another limitation is the recurrent note of personal self-justification. Say the publishers on the jacket: "The first British edition provoked violent criticism and a storm of self-righteous accusations, but subsequent events have proved right almost every one of the author's predictions." It must be noted, however, that often, where events did *not*, predictions have been omitted or reshaped in the revision. The book has value as a vivid and lively account produced by an intelligent and intense observer. But its analysis of Western error is not radically different from that of soberer, carefuller, more objective analysts, like the American James M. Landis, who is not mentioned; or the English George Kirk, whose Royal Institute of International Affairs-Chatham House sponsor is derided in a footnote for producing on an Egyptian subject "a typical example of wishful thinking." T. H. VAIL MOTTER, *Princeton, New Jersey*

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

SHANGHAI: KEY TO MODERN CHINA. By *Rhoads Murphey*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 232, \$4.50.) A study of Shanghai, emphasizing its modern role as the Yangtze Valley's chief outlet to the world may seem academic at this time of Nationalist blockade and United Nations embargo. But Professor Murphey believes that, once peace is restored in East Asia, Shanghai's economic future will be assured, although the city's relative importance inside China is likely to decline as Manchuria and other parts of the country are built up. The reasons for this view are given in a series of chapters analyzing modern Shanghai's history, trade, industry, food supply, and transport, and the manner in which the advantages of the city's general location have overcome the shortcomings of its specific site. The author recognizes the part played by foreign political power in the economic development of Shanghai but holds that "the predominant factor in the growth of the city at every period" was its location, which enabled it to outstrip other treaty ports with the same political status. The factor of location, he predicts, will continue to be decisive in the new phase Shanghai has now entered. The book's subtitle—"key to modern China"—refers to Shanghai's function as "the center and dispersing point of modern China's revolution" and to Professor Murphey's contention that the city will remain "a key" economically to Chinese developments. Since the author's approach is mainly geographical, the city's modern cultural predominance in China is not discussed. Perhaps for the same reason Shanghai's laboring class is considered only as an element in production, not as a political force. Presumably the evolution of these aspects will have some bearing on the extent to which Shanghai is, or is not, a key to China in the future. Based on Western and Chinese language sources, this book is a useful contribution to its field. It also serves to draw attention to some enduring features of the East Asian situation frequently obscured by day-to-day developments.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER, *Detroit, Michigan*

THE FORCE OF WOMEN IN JAPANESE HISTORY. By *Mary R. Beard*. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1953, pp. 196, \$3.75.) Mary Beard has long deplored the tradition holding women to be a "subject sex" because of the "almost tyrannical power" it has exercised "over thinking about the relations of men and women." Perhaps because historians have been partly responsible for the durability of this tradition, her work has been valiantly devoted to undermining it by showing that beneath the surface of events where the real business of life goes on, women have always played a profound role, conserving, manipulating, and exploiting the human materials around them. Unusual circumstances provided her with a case history of a nation's women, traditionally regarded as very subordinate indeed, which admirably demonstrated her thesis. Sketches of individual women who had played decisive roles in Japanese history had been compiled by native scholars (of both sexes) between 1935 and 1939, under the inspiration of Baroness Ishimoto, for inclusion in a projected universal encyclopedia of women. The compilation eventually found its way to Mary Beard, already conversant with Japan's history and culture. The resulting volume offers evidence that there have always been women who have known political power in Japan, and have known how to use it, frequently at critical junctures. It merits the attention not only of students of Japanese history but of

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those engaged in studying the psychological components of social change. The book is divided into chapters covering the major epochs of Japan's history, from the legendary era of the glamorous Sun Goddess through the Allied occupation when the emperor was stripped of his divinity and "democratized," with at least temporary loss of face to his Goddess Mother. Coincident with the latter's humiliation, however, the occupiers declared Japanese women to be politically free—full-fledged participants in the newly established democracy. Ostensibly Mrs. Beard has done little more than weave together the individual sketches; but the episodic narrative is played upon by a subtle and frequently ironic commentary. Particularly interesting is the treatment of the centuries dominated by the empresses regnant, whose deft compromises and accommodations permitted the absorption of a strong infusion of Buddhist and Confucian elements without embarrassment to the Supreme Goddess. Japan's matchless capacity for assimilation may be seen functioning. Likewise significant is the continuous demonstration that the wife-mother role represents a fulcrum of great political power in a society where the "household" dominates the individual, among both the ruling groups and those contending for power.

LOUISE M. YOUNG, *Washington, D.C.*

DEMOCRACY AND THE PARTY MOVEMENT IN PREWAR JAPAN: THE FAILURE OF THE FIRST ATTEMPT. By *Robert A. Scalapino*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. xii, 471, \$6.50.) Much history and not a little political philosophy are crowded into this book. It is, above all, an excellent synthesis of the political party movement in Japan before World War II. Against Japan's cultural background of imperial divinity, Shintoism, Confucian principles, warrior ethics, and bureaucratic rule, Dr. Scalapino sketches the origin and progress of the various political cliques, and shows the disastrous effects on them of the Meiji constitution of 1889, which centered all powers of state in an oligarchy of peers, privy councilors, elder statesmen, and warlords and entrusted to it the preservation of the ancient polity. Japanese capitalism supported the oligarchy against the forces of liberalism because the important industrial interests were products of state paternalism and depended upon the government for their existence. The oligarchy neutralized liberal thought through a program of mass education which glorified an Oriental type of despotism and disparaged popular government; threats to the established order from individuals and political groups of any leftist persuasion were crushed by the police under the public peace laws. Within the framework of the imperial constitution, "Fascist" elements in the late 1930's suppressed the political parties and thereby, according to Dr. Scalapino, removed Japan from the pathway of democracy. In confining his study to the political party movement, which he equates with democracy, the author avoids such issues as whether (1) the political factions were genuine political parties, (2) the imperial Diet had the fundamental attributes of a Western parliament, (3) members of the House of Representatives regarded themselves and were regarded as servants of the people, (4) the voters esteemed the ballot as an instrument of political power, and (5) national elections appreciably influenced state policy. In any case, Dr. Scalapino's principal aim in tracing the political party movement is to provide an "understanding of the whole nature of modern Japan, and perhaps to shed some light on the problems of all late-developing societies." With Japan again on the road to democracy, the crucial question now is "whether democracy can remove its legacy of failure everywhere in the Far East and demonstrate some capacity to survive and develop." It has not been proved conclusively that the heritage of Greek humanism, the Hebraic-Christian philosophy, and Roman law is essential to a successful

democratic state. In the medieval period, Europe and Asia were both in quest of organic unity or organic integration as a result of the similarity in their political-economic institutions. The early rise of capitalism within the framework of the European nation-state was closely related to the emergence of modern democracy; conversely, the timing of the "modernization" of Japan, and also of Germany, "offers a central explanation for the failure of democracy in both." The problem, then, is to devise ways and means of adjusting late-developing societies to the modern world. For the future of democracy, "it is indispensable to put forward a long-range cooperative program of mutual aid and understanding between the 'advanced' democracies and the so-called 'underdeveloped' or late-developing societies. . . . the necessity for such a program is the chief lesson to be drawn from the failure of democracy in prewar Japan."

JUSTIN WILLIAMS, *Washington D.C.*

THE JAPANESE FRONTIER IN HAWAII, 1868-1898. By Hilary Conroy. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLVI.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. vi, 175, \$2.50.) This is a study of Japanese immigration to Hawaii during the three decades from 1868, when the first shipload of 148 immigrants arrived in Honolulu, to 1898, when Hawaii was annexed as a Territory of the U.S.A. Most of the book is devoted to an examination of the circumstances that led to recruitment of Japanese laborers for Hawaii's sugar plantations, with careful attention to official relations between the governments involved and to views and policies of Americans in Hawaii regarding the problems raised by actual and prospective Japanese immigration. Professor Conroy's study is based on an imposing array of unpublished source materials available in the Archives of Hawaii and the Japanese consulate general in Honolulu, published Japanese, Hawaiian, and United States government documents, personal memoirs, diaries, and interviews, and an excellent selection of secondary sources. The documentation is exhaustive and the book reflects assiduous, penetrating research. This is a notable and distinguished contribution to historical writing. It is to be hoped that in a future edition the author will expand his treatment of the living conditions of the Japanese on and outside the sugar plantations. A few minor revisions might also be in order. For instance, the expression *Tabi no haji wa kake sute*, rendered as "once over the border one may do anything" (p. 88), is more accurately "brushing off and discarding the shames [*jau pas*] of travel"; citing an English-language newspaper in Honolulu for the statement that "new [immigrant] arrivals carried fresh in their minds official parting reminders that they were Japanese subjects, and that their object was to go, make money, and return to Japan" (p. 94) is not quite so satisfactory as citing some authoritative Japanese source; the "first Japanese import firm" established in Honolulu, in 1890, was not the "*Nan-Yu sha* [or *Nangusha*]" (p. 100) but the *Nan-yū-gōshi-kaisha*; and Imamura Yemō (pp. 102, 173) should be (Bishop) Imamura Yemyō.

SHUNZO SAKAMAKI, *University of Hawaii*

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE AS A POLITICAL FACTOR IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By Aarne A. Koskinen. [Annals of the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Series B, Vol. 78, 1.] (Helsinki, the Academy, 1953, pp. 163, 800 markkaa.) Here, in a doctoral dissertation, is a thoroughly competent survey of the part that missionaries had in the politics of the islands of the Pacific. It takes up both Protestant and Catholic missions. It notes the earlier arrival of the Protestants, the fact that most of them were British, and that this helps to account for the wide extension of British colonial rule in the area. The author sketches the mass conversions and notes the reasons why they were generally accomplished through the leadership

of the chiefs. He tells the fashion in which, after that conversion had been achieved, the missionaries encouraged and often directed the reorganization of society on the basis of what they believed they saw in the Scriptures, and with scant regard or respect for earlier native folkways. He speaks of the chronic friction between missionaries and nonmissionary whites, partly in the effort of the missionaries to protect the native women from the demands of the beachcombers and sailors, and also from the active opposition of the missionaries to the sale of firearms and liquor to the natives, and to the recruiting of native laborers through methods closely resembling the slave trade and slavery. He notes that the missionaries were generally successful in ending chronic tribal wars and in promoting internal peace. He records the fact that in several instances Protestant missionaries opposed the onset of white settlement because of its effect on native society and morals, but that later they as well as Catholics assisted in the annexation by their respective governments. The author has made extensive use of the pertinent literature and printed sources and in the main is objective—neither for nor against missions. Nowhere else has the story been told as comprehensively, dispassionately, and with such painstaking utilization of the pertinent material.

K. S. LATOURETTE, *Yale University*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

FATE AND FREEDOM: A PHILOSOPHY FOR FREE AMERICANS. By Jerome Frank. (Rev. ed.; Boston, Beacon Press, 1953, pp. viii, 376, \$4.00.) This volume is a tract for the times, a vigorous defense of the idea that men are not mere pawns of inscrutable social forces but masters of those forces. Judge Frank insists that destiny is a matter of choice, not of inevitability, and he urges Americans to be undismayed by Nazi and Marxist assertions that the future belongs to them. The new edition of this book is substantially the same as the old, except for the alteration of a few passages that might otherwise seem untimely. The author no longer worries, as he did in 1945, that his criticism of Marxist determinism will be taken as evidence of "disloyalty to our Russian allies." He is no longer confident that "the conduct of Lenin and Stalin has been a boon to Russia," or that their dictatorship has been "earnestly devoted to the economic well-being of the common man." One

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

difficulty with tracts for the times is that times change. Judge Frank argues that the Fichte-Hegel doctrine of historical fatalism energized Russia and Germany, but de-energized America, and he blames German-trained historians of the late nineteenth century for bringing this "alien doctrine" to our shores. "Hitler was able to cash in on the teachings of a multitude of American historians who, quite unwittingly, became his allies in the period before we entered World War II." It is regrettable that the author's thoughtful defense of democratic values should be marred by such nonsense. According to his guilt-by-association logic, fatalism is a German doctrine; American historical scholarship originated in Germany; therefore American historians are fatalists. He cites a few examples, but nothing like a multitude, and even his few represent some bad choices—Arthur M. Schlesinger, for example. He thinks well of Charles A. Beard and a few other pragmatic historians, but he completely underestimates their number and influence, and assumes that the non-pragmatists are unwitting tools of foreign powers. A little historiography is a dangerous thing.

IRVIN G. WYLLIE, *University of Missouri*

JOHN WITHERSPOON COMES TO AMERICA: A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT BASED LARGELY ON NEW MATERIALS. By *L. H. Butterfield*. (Princeton, Princeton University Library, 1953, pp. xiv, 99, \$4.00.) The arrival of John Witherspoon in 1768 to assume the presidency of the College of New Jersey proved to be an event of importance not only in the history of that New Light Presbyterian institution of learning but in the intellectual and political history of all America as well. The vitalizing influence this eminent Scottish divine had upon the fortunes of the little college, the high place he quickly came to occupy in the educational and religious life of the colonies at large, and the vigorous share he soon took in the struggle for independence all help to explain why Moses Coit Tyler later called him "one of the great men of the age and of the world." The general course of the negotiations leading to the Paisley minister's acceptance of the call to Princeton has long been known, but the detailed story is now revealed for the first time. Mr. Butterfield has assembled forty-six letters written between 1766 and 1769 (several now printed for the first time) and has connected them with a narrative and explanatory account based in part on additional documents. The two principal American negotiators were Richard Stockton, a prominent resident of the town of Princeton, and Benjamin Rush, at the time a medical student in Edinburgh. Most of Stockton's papers were lost or destroyed by the British in 1776; about half the letters here included are from Witherspoon to Rush. It was the young Philadelphian, apparently, who finally overcame the greatest obstacle to the clergyman's acceptance of the American invitation, that is, Mrs. Witherspoon's unwillingness to leave Scotland. Mr. Butterfield has woven his materials together skillfully and perceptively. The volume is full of human interest and, more than that, offers revealing glimpses of the intellectual and religious ties existing between Scotland and the colonies in the years just before the American Revolution.

LEONARD W. LABAREE, *Yale University*

THE TRAITOR AND THE SPY: BENEDICT ARNOLD AND JOHN ANDRÉ. By *James Thomas Flexner*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1953, pp. x, 431, \$5.75.) One of the most tragic events in American history, the treason of Benedict Arnold, has once again inspired analysis by a noted author. Somewhat more than a decade ago, Carl Van Doren in his *Secret History of the American Revolution* laid bare this conspiracy in all its manifold details. In his pages, whatever sentimental guilt remained upon Arnold's armor vanished as the extent of the renegade American's perfidy was fully revealed. Similarly, beautiful Peggy Shippen, the American general's wife,

emerged from the sanctity of innocence with which tradition had tried to invest her and assumed her true role as a willing accomplice in the plot to betray the patriot cause. Only Major André maintained his accustomed position in the triumvirate—that of a gallant victim of an undeserved fate. Mr. Flexner has in the telling of his story traversed much the same ground as his predecessor. New material which he has uncovered through diligent and exhaustive research has not materially changed the outlines of the chronicle as we already know it. Perhaps his most significant contribution is his reappraisal of the character of Major André. While the portrait he pens retains the poetic nature, lightness and gaiety of spirit, and general esthetic sensitiveness for which the British officer was celebrated, a predilection for brutality has been added. André's experiences as a captive in Pennsylvania and his subsequent service under the ruthless and oftentimes cruel Major General Charles Grey indoctrinated him with the ways of the dedicated follower of the sword. The current treatment of this tale, notwithstanding earlier presentations, will undoubtedly attract a large audience. It is set forth with such verve and dash as to hold the reader entranced as he moves from one episode to another. All the paraphernalia for high drama is present in the careers of the three principal characters. It remains only for the master hand to weave the elements together. Mr. Flexner has truly supplied that hand. The result is, in the opinion of this reviewer, the most absorbing account of the affair yet published. Source references for the text have been printed in a separate pamphlet, which may be procured by addressing a request for it to the publishers.

VICTOR L. JOHNSON, *Muhlenberg College*

LE CHEVALIER DE BONVOULOIR, PREMIER EMISSAIRE SECRET DE LA FRANCE AUPRÈS DU CONGRÈS DE PHILADELPHIE AVANT L'INDÉPENDANCE AMÉRICAINE. By *Joseph Hamon*. Introduction by *John L. Brown*. [Extraits du *Pays Bas-Normand*, Nos. de 1948 à 1952.] (Paris, Jouve, 1953, pp. 117.) This short study is an act of piety to the memory of a young man who played his brief part in the drama of American independence. Julien de Bonvouloir left his native Normandy to become a "remittance man" in Santo Domingo. It was there, in 1775, that echoes of the Revolution reached him, and early that year, hoping to promote ties between France and the rebellious colonies, he left for Philadelphia. There he found a useful intermediary in Francis Daymon, bookseller and librarian of the local Library Company. Bonvouloir spoke with leading figures at the Continental Congress and traveled through the colonies sounding out public opinion. In the summer of 1775 he left for France to place himself at the service of Vergennes, who commissioned him to return to America to report secretly on developments there. Americans wanted an alliance with France, and Bonvouloir encouraged them with the assurance that an American delegation would be favorably received at the French court. It was Bonvouloir, according to the author, who thus set in motion the sequence of events which led to final victory and American independence. He told the colonists what they wanted to hear, and his exaggerated reports to Vergennes on the strength and the will to fight of the rebels strongly influenced later decisions at Paris. The author pays deserved tribute to Bonvouloir's secret role in 1775 which was too little known, though not entirely unfamiliar to Americans. Anxious to rescue a neglected hero from obscurity Mr. Hamon has probably exaggerated his impact on Franco-American relations. Bonvouloir fell out of favor in Paris, and his activities soon carried him to the Indian Ocean, where, as a naval officer, he fought to extend the bounds of the French Empire. There he succumbed to disease, his grave and even his name quickly fading from the memory of man.

Mr. Hamon has devotedly recalled the gallantry and intelligence of a minor figure whose initiative helped direct the course of a major event in the world's history.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College of New York*

THE JOURNAL OF CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN [1854-64]. With an Introduction and Notes by *Ray Allen Billington*, William Smith Mason Professor of History, Northwestern University. (New York, Dryden Press, 1953, pp. 248, \$5.00.) Genteel young ladies of Philadelphia and New England in the 1850's were expected to behave in a manner befitting their station. Their lives were bounded by the required visits to other personable ladies and gentlemen, attendance at uplifting lectures, devotion to the arts of needlepoint and parlor discussions, observation of nature's beauties, and the keeping of a diary to record estimates of people and events. If the *Journal* of Charlotte L. Forten contained only the record of one more such young lady it would still be worth reading. But it contains much more and so has special value. In fact, Miss Forten herself was no ordinary representative of New England female gentility since the accident of color made her unique in that company. It is because Miss Forten was a Negro and because she was so much a young lady of her time that her *Journal* is a valuable addition to every historian's library. The daughter of a free Negro who had served in a privateer during the Revolution and later amassed a fortune of \$100,000, Miss Forten was sensitive to her position as a Negro in a northern community which looked upon Negroes with an irritating mixture of Christian sympathy, condescension, and outright contempt. Her young heart that sighed for "summer, that wayward loiterer" could be nearly broken when she thought, "how agonizing it is to feel oneself an outcast from the rest of mankind." With the passion of youth she vowed to, "do *all*, all the *very little* that lies in my power, while life and strength last." But the will to fight back had to be constantly strengthened. Fifteen years were ahead before the dream of freedom for her people approached reality. What sustained her and those others like her who waited? Faith in the triumph of a just God, to be sure, but faith also in an incomparable band of idealists. Her *Journal* makes it clear that abolitionism, militant and unswerving, terrifying in its summoning of the human conscience, unyielding in its demands upon mankind, was the support that sustained the flagging spirits of the free Negro in the North. The bitter brew of abolitionist martyrdom was transformed into a heady stimulant that literally kept the frail and sensitive Charlotte Forten alive. When freedom came for her people she kept her girlhood pledge to do *all* and left her comfortable northern home to move south to teach in the Port Royal area among the "contrabands." She was but one of a large company of Negro teachers and leaders whose remarkable exodus in reverse made it possible for the only time in our history for the body of Negro masses to be joined to the nerve center of its leadership. American historians owe a debt to Charlotte Forten for her *Journal* and an even larger one to Professor Billington for his painstaking work in tracing the incidents and individuals mentioned in the volume.

JACK ABRAMOWITZ, *New York City*

THE STATESMANSHIP OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Allan Nevins*, Dewitt Clinton Professor of History, Columbia University. [The Page-Barbour Lectures, University of Virginia, 1951.] (New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 82, \$2.25.) Undoubtedly historians, particularly our best ones, should give more general lectures on the subjects of their specialization. Usually the resulting products are distinguished by a boldness in approach and in speculation that is often lacking in their more formal treatises. This quality of boldness or originality is brilliantly present in this book, consisting of three lectures delivered by Professor Nevins on the Page-Barbour Foundation

at the University of Virginia. Despite his modest disclaimer that the lectures are exploratory and tentative, the book is one of the best treatments yet to appear of the civil leadership in the Civil War. In the first lecture, Dr. Nevins discusses the conditions of statesmanship: intellectual power, moral strength, an instinct for the needs of a particular time, and some kind of passion. In the second, he discusses Jefferson Davis' main task—which was to create a nation—and why he failed to make even the contribution to that end which might have been expected. Davis had many deficiencies, Nevins concludes, but his greatest was his lack of passion. In the third lecture, Nevins treats Lincoln, who he considers was "more than a statesman." Lincoln transcended statesmanship because he transcended nationality. Alone among the statesmen of the North and South, he had a vision of a brighter civilization for all men. Lincoln's main task was to preserve a nation. He succeeded because in addition to the other qualities of statesmanship he had passion. His passion was for democracy as an example to the world.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS, *Louisiana State University*

A STILLNESS AT APPOMATTOX. By *Bruce Catton*. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1953, pp. viii, 438, \$5.00.) Completing a trilogy which amounts practically to a character study of the Army of the Potomac, the final volume carries the story of the Northern forces in Virginia from the arrival of U. S. Grant in the east to Lee's surrender at Appomattox court house. The account of these months from the wilderness, through Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, the long siege of Richmond and Petersburg to Five Forks and the Confederate commander's hopeless flight across Virginia is old and familiar, and the author has no contribution to make to the oft-debated problems of "command," the mysteries of strategy, or the intricacies of tactics. Instead, with an insight generally lacking in arm-chair strategists and post-bellum experts gifted with hindsight, he recognizes that the men who did the fighting were the significant members of the Army of the Potomac. His story centers on the man in the ranks, and, except for a rather full treatment of Sheridan as an inspiring leader, it practically ignores the commanders in the headquarters tents. It is a story of men around campfires rather than of staff officers in solemn council. As such, it is a distinct and badly needed contribution to the military history of the Civil War. By the spring of 1864 the Army of the Potomac was no longer an aggregation of beardless enthusiasts who had enlisted for patriotic or adventurous reasons. Hard experience and successive defeats had made glory out-of-date, and the new men whom the bounties and the threat of conscription brought into the ranks were of different stuff than the older and earlier men. There was more discipline, tighter controls, more rigid lines between officers and men than in the days of McClellan. And, perhaps in justification, there was more vice, theft, skulking, and brutality. Yet under coercion these soldiers could fight grimly, march even after weariness had numbed them into automatons, and die with an absence of heroics. The author has made excellent use of memoirs, diaries, letters, and the frequently neglected regimental histories to create a volume of high literary quality. It is a dramatic narrative, capturing the sounds of battle and the emotions of the soldiers. It is highly recommended to all who are surfeited with the pompous *post hoc* military criticism which has characterized recent writings on the military history of the Civil War.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE. By *Stanley F. Horn*. (2d ed.; Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pp. 503, \$6.00.) After its initial appearance in 1941 this book quickly won a high place in Civil War literature because of its readability

and the general care with which it was written. The army whose history is here recorded was not always styled the Army of Tennessee, but that is a fitting designation to cover its career, which began with service at Bowling Green, Kentucky, in the fall of 1861 and ended when Johnston surrendered to Sherman. It fought under various commanders and against different federal generals: under Albert S. Johnston and Beauregard against Grant and Buell (the second day) at Shiloh; after Beauregard gave up command because of illness, it fell into the hands of Bragg, and made the long rail movement and hard march to Kentucky. There a small part of it roughly handled a fraction of Buell's army at Perryville, while a large fraction of the Union army was unengaged because its commander did not know what was going on. Then it fought Rosecrans at Murfreesboro, and again—with reinforcements from the east—much more successfully at Chickamauga. Then came its defeat by Grant at Chattanooga. Under Joe Johnston it opposed Sherman's advance in the spring of 1864. When he was removed it came under Hood and staged the venture that led to bloody Franklin and the heavy defeat by George Thomas at Nashville. Though some 18,000 men were reorganized in the winter of 1865 in northern Mississippi, Joe Johnston said that only 5,000 of the forces he had turned over to Hood at Atlanta, rejoined him for his final campaign. While the *Official Records* are referred to as a source, it should be noted that memoirs and other subsequent recollections are also heavily drawn upon; these are not always reliable. For example, if one reads the reports of Colonels Wilder and Dunham on the surrender of Munfordville, as well as Wilder's testimony before the Buell Commission, one will get an idea of that incident different from Horn's account, which uses the *Southern Bivouac* as authority. Though one may disagree with the author in places, the republication of *The Army of Tennessee* will meet with warm approval.

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS, *Indiana University*

THE HIDDEN COASTS: A BIOGRAPHY OF ADMIRAL CHARLES WILKES. By Daniel Henderson. (New York, William Sloane, 1953, pp. 306, \$5.00.) Charles Wilkes believed he was created with the ability to do no wrong and he guided his actions accordingly throughout his life. His prospects for success were illimitable and when his vision of his greatness did not become reality he became bitter and blamed the officials of the federal government and his associates in the United States Navy and elsewhere rather than himself. When he was not given command of the United States Exploring Expedition at the time legislation forming it was passed, he blamed Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson even though he was a junior officer without the rank or position befitting the commander of such an undertaking. After the command was his, he refused to consider the requirements of the Navy and indicted the top executives in the department for not providing the rank and ships he wanted. He viewed his subjection to court-martial proceedings at the conclusion of the expedition, not as an indication of his own highhandedness in dealing with his subordinates, but as a repudiation of the great work he *alone* had done. When his naval career was terminated by a court-martial in 1863 and his subsequent retirement, he blamed departmental intrigue for his misfortune rather than his own failure to obey the orders of his friend, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles. Wilkes never learned to accept the counsel of his superiors and associates. Regardless of his feelings, success was his, however. While a junior officer, he was given command of one of the most elaborate exploring expeditions ever sent out by the United States government. He was the first explorer to realize he had coasted the shores of an Antarctic continent. He became a respected naval scientist and was retired as an admiral. Yet his burning ambition and intense egotism made him unsatisfied and bitter. In this

biography, many aspects of Wilkes's life are presented not as they occurred but as Wilkes thought they occurred. Daniel Henderson has used Wilkes's vindictive autobiography for much of his evidence, which limits the accuracy of this readable portrayal of an American naval hero.

PHILIP I. MITTERLING, *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

THE AGE OF THE MOGULS. By *Stewart H. Holbrook*. [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1953, pp. x, 373, \$5.00.) With few exceptions, the story of how the business titans made and spent their money continues to be one of the most durably fascinating chapters in the history of the United States. Scholarly business histories and biographies, authorized company or family studies, and popular accounts by professional writers have, in varying degrees, increased the depth and scope of our knowledge of American business and businessmen. Stewart Holbrook's recent book, which inaugurates the "Mainstream of America Series," under the general editorship of Lewis Gannett, is a colorfully written, popular account of thirty or more major business careers from the inauguration of Grant to the retirement of Coolidge. Obviously, with only a few pages per man at his disposal one cannot expect to find anything startlingly new. Much of this book is a retelling of well-told tales with a marked tendency to concentrate upon dramatic incidents at the expense of the significant. As a result, some of these sketches are misleading. Their very brevity cannot help making them so. It is equally unfortunate that Mr. Holbrook has failed to make available to his readers, either in the text or in the bibliography, the results of recent scholarly research. In discussing these great men of American business, the author does not feel obliged "to pass judgments on matters that have baffled moralists, economists, and historians." He is content to indicate how "their total activities were of the greatest influence in bringing the United States to its present incomparable position in the world of business and industry." Granted these reservations, *The Age of the Moguls* is not without some virtue. It is a dispassionate, convenient, amusingly written, one-volume survey of some of the most fascinating careers in American business. The concluding chapter, a summary of the benefactions and vulgarities to which some of these great fortunes were put, is provocative and interesting.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

JUSTICE GEORGE SHIRAS, JR., OF PITTSBURGH, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, 1892-1903: A CHRONICLE OF HIS FAMILY, LIFE, AND TIMES. By *George Shiras, III*. Edited and Completed by *Winfield Shiras*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1953, pp. xx, 256, \$4.50.) "Who the deuce is Shiras?" inquired a Lancaster editor when this Pittsburgher was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1892. The question might confound historians today. They remember him, if at all, as the judge who was supposed to have switched his vote in the income tax case in 1895, making possible a bare majority for the Court's infamous decision. Shiras' son and grandson, his present biographers, conclusively prove modern scholarly belief: he was not the vacillating jurist. Following King's *Melville Fuller*, the authors suggest persuasively that no judge changed his mind after the rearguments. Their capital chapter on this subject, meant as an exoneration of Shiras, proves that he voted against the income tax both times. Apparently rigid conservatism is preferable to vacillation. Shiras was a wealthy corporation lawyer who represented the most powerful business interests. Carnegie suggested the name of this "intimate friend" to President Harrison for the Court. The story of the appointment and of Shiras' early years are amply narrated, but his legal training and career at the bar are almost ignored. The book

fails as a study of its subject's professional influence and intellectual growth. There are few manuscript sources which reveal the man or his work. He served on the Court from 1892 to 1903, a period when judicial doctrines of vested rights sealed off corporate interests from regulatory legislation. Shiras was always on the majority side of the Court, though he wrote none of the major opinions, in the cases which prompted Brooks Adams' comment that "The capitalist . . . regards the constitutional form of government which exists in the United States as a convenient method of obtaining his own way against a majority." Of this book's sixty pages on the Court's work only twelve—scarcely enough—deal with Shiras' own opinions, fifty-seven of which, in the field of constitutional law, spoke for the Court. The authors call him a "moderate," although he joined an intransigent minority who would have further crippled congressional power over commerce. His most notable opinion, however, sustained the rights of alien deportees, and he would have supported the privilege against self-incrimination notwithstanding a grant of immunity to witnesses before congressional committees. On the whole, "Shiras' work was rarely of a conspicuous sort," but it merits fuller and more critical evaluation.

LEONARD W. LEVY, *Brandeis University*

REFRIGERATION IN AMERICA: A HISTORY OF A NEW TECHNOLOGY AND ITS IMPACT. By *Oscar Edward Anderson, Jr.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati, 1953, pp. ix, 344, \$6.00.) Mr. Anderson is concerned with recording the main trends in the technological progress of refrigeration and indicating its part in wider national developments. He discusses historical methods of cooling and the application of natural ice refrigeration to problems of food supply. Chapters on the ice industry and domestic refrigeration, refrigerated transportation, public resistance to the cost of cold storage, and diverse applications of refrigeration cover the period from 1890 to 1918. In the period following World War I, Mr. Anderson points out, the day of nonscientific methods of refrigeration was gone, and greater use was made in the industry of graduates of engineering schools, more emphasis was placed on research, and better facilities for the exchange of information were provided by technical and trade associations which covered every phase of the refrigeration industries. Growing needs among dealers in perishable foods for a more satisfactory means of refrigeration than natural ice resulted in the invention of mechanical refrigeration. Consideration of recent problems includes such matters as mechanical versus ice refrigeration, the transportation and warehousing of food, and the development of frozen foods during and following World War II. This book is a thoughtful and well-written contribution to the history of technology and its impact on American life.

RICHARD O. CUMMINGS, *Brooklyn College*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1935. In four volumes. Volume I, GENERAL; THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 4945.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953, pp. xcvi, 1074, \$4.25.) In continuation of the volumes of official papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, which have been issued by the Department of State in an almost unbroken series since 1861, this is one of four which, taken together, cover developments of importance for the year 1935. It represents the painstaking work of about a dozen picked scholars. The documents selected for publication on the basis of their researches number 1,055, almost equally divided between categories denominated "General" and "The Near East and Africa." Papers

appearing in the first of these two sections naturally deal with a wide variety of matters, but particularly noteworthy among these are documents on the Geneva Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, the London Naval Conference, and other contemporary efforts to promote and maintain peace among the nations. There is more than a touch of irony in the extent to which the second part of the volume discloses the futility of these efforts. In 1935 occurred the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, and the multitude and gravity of the problems to which that rash adventure gave rise are reflected in the spatial proportions assigned to it here. Viewed from the vantage point of the year 1953, the currents flowing in the direction of a possible second world war are clearly discernible among the many essentially routine items of international business set forth in both sections of the volume. While there is no knowing at the present moment what considerations of timeliness, tact, and space may have entered into the selection of some of the papers for publication, possibly to the exclusion of others which would have been fully as illuminating, the main issues in American foreign relations appear to be well represented here. The appearance of the volume will be a boon especially to students of the period of World War II. HALFORD L. HOSKINS, *Library of Congress*

ALASKA, 1741-1953. By *Clarence C. Hulley*. (Portland, Oreg., Binfords and Mort, 1953, pp. 406, \$5.00.) Into the confines of 370 pages the head of the department of history and political science at the University of Alaska has compressed the story of the past of that area. He has allotted 202 pages to the Russian period and 168 to the American, adding fourteen for bibliography classified by subject, three for miscellaneous data, and eighteen for the index. Further, although the table of contents whispers it not, he has managed to include seventy-one interesting illustrations, economically utilizing both sides of a photographic sheet tipped in at the end of each of the book's dozen signatures. Geographical and ethnographical descriptions, with background history, postpone until page 47 the sailing of Bering's little convoy from Kamchatka in search of the northwest coasts of America. Succeeding pages are crowded with the misadventures of the hardy souls who sailed and settled under the Russian flag and that of her commercial companies. In later pages the frequently trying situation of Alaska's denizens since the 1867 purchase is made clear; but of course this part includes a showing of wealth extracted from the area, and relative comfort in abiding there, which surpass the wildest dreams of Russian speculation. The narrative is based upon careful use of the principal works published to date in this field; it arose from a personal interest derived from an early teaching experience in northern Canada and some seven years of service at the University of Alaska. Readers will use the political and geographic maps provided on the end papers but may wish that the maps could have carried a few more place names commonly used in the narrative. Also, it is strange to find the chapter numbers go back to 1 with the beginning of Part 2 within these covers, and the proofreading is far from exemplary. An arduous task in compressed summary always taxes ingenuity as to style, organization, synthesis, and meaning; the philosophy of history can scarcely break through the crowded chronicle. At any rate, the author has provided the general reader—and perhaps students in Alaska's university and high schools—with a rapid historical survey, not forgetting the interaction of economic, political, and social factors in Alaska's special development. Here we have a demonstration of much industry, a painstaking chronicle, a convenient compendium.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

ISRAEL THORNDIKE, FEDERALIST FINANCIER. By J. D. Forbes. (New York, Exposition Press for Beverly Historical Society, 1953, pp. 160, \$3.50.) Israel Thorndike of Beverly and Boston was born in 1755. The father, a sailor-farmer, was lost at sea in 1761. Israel's share of the estate was £1.4s. but by the time he was seventeen he owned several vessels and was worth \$1,500. Two years later the town of Beverly abated his head tax 6s.3d. because of the "extraordinary charge" resulting from an attack of smallpox. When he died in 1832, his estate was valued at over a million dollars. His career was one of the major success stories of the revolutionary era. During the war he engaged in privateering and after it he continued in trade and invested in other businesses as well, including bridges and the Beverly Cotton Manufactory. By 1795 his ships were sailing around the world although by 1801 he was chiefly concerned with the East India trade. Peace in 1801 alarmed and the renewal of war in 1803 delighted him. In that year, when asking for a credit of £50,000 in London, he declared himself the owner of unencumbered property worth over \$400,000 and, in addition, that he had "handsome expectations from an aged father-in-law." He speculated in Maine and Western Reserve lands. He was president of the Beverly Bank, 1802-1810. He invested in more and more manufacturing stocks and in early railroads. Politically he was a Federalist. He was a member of the Massachusetts ratifying convention of 1788. Then in May, 1788, Beverly elected him hogreeve, and three days thereafter, to the state legislature. He became an intimate of Timothy Pickering and the other bitter opponents of the War of 1812, although, unlike some of them, he did buy government bonds toward the end of the war. Although the Thorndike papers are said to be "extensive," this book is too brief to do justice to what was clearly a remarkable success story. It is good, however, to know

more than we have of one of those "lesser" figures whose lives are often as revealing as those of the "great men" to whom overmuch attention is often paid.

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LEISLER'S REBELLION: A STUDY OF DEMOCRACY IN NEW YORK, 1664-1720. By *Jerome R. Reich*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. ix, 194, \$4.50.) Jerome R. Reich, an administrative officer in the Chicago public school system and a recipient of an award from the General Society of Colonial Wars for this monograph, has written the most extensive account thus far of the New York phase of the Glorious Revolution in America. After tracing the background of local discontent with English rule in New York from 1664 to 1689, Mr. Reich concentrates on the part that Jacob Leisler played in the period of the administration of Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson and the interim following the latter's "flight." As far as the "Rebellion" is concerned, the author shows that it was brought on by a variety of factors: a religious crusade against the Catholic intentions of James II; the Glorious Revolution in both England and Massachusetts; a Dutch movement in support "of that Love and affection for the royal house of Nassau, which is natural to the Dutch nation"; and a "class struggle"—one of the first of its type—between the aristocratic landowners and merchants on the one hand and the town workers on the other. Leisler helped to stem the growing movement toward strengthened aristocratic control of the New York government by breaking up illegal or questionable landholding, by suspending the grievous monopolies, by reforming the inequitable tax system, and by improving the status of the mechanics and artisans. Another thesis is that Leisler was by no means a traitor. He merely considered himself an interim caretaker of the province during the troublesome times of 1689-1691. The charge of guilt which resulted in his execution was the result of his aristocratic enemies in New York, thereby making him one of the first democratic martyrs in America. Yet his death was not in vain, for it led to the development of political parties in the colony before the end of the seventeenth century, parties which promoted a definite maturity which ultimately put the colony in the independence camp three quarters of a century later. Mr. Reich has made good use of his primary sources to prove his points and he writes in interesting fashion. A decidedly minor complaint is the inadequate index.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

JOURNALS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. Volume III, DECEMBER 1, 1781–NOVEMBER 29, 1786. Edited by *Wilmer L. Hall*. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1952, pp. x, 699.) It is welcome news that the publication of the *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia* has been resumed. The state librarian, Mr. Wilmer Hall, begins just where Dr. H. R. McIlwaine left off twenty-one years ago. Volume III covers the last months of the Revolutionary War and part of the period of the Confederation, and deals with many of the problems of the transition from war to peace. The historian will find innumerable items of interest—the state-owned ropewalk, foundry, and gun factory; trade with France; the supplying of troops; the protection of the frontier from Indian raids; the establishing of courts in the Illinois Territory; the granting of western lands to veterans; the replacement of county records burned by the enemy; the digging of a canal to connect the Elizabeth River with Albemarle Sound; the sale of bricks from the ruins of the palace at Williamsburg; the march on Richmond by a Virginia regiment as a protest against the failure of the government to provide food and clothing and pay. As we read the *Journals* we are impressed by the weakness of the state government. The governor and council were elected by the general assembly, and the state constitution and laws required the governor to secure the advice of the council in every detail of administration. Neither the executive nor the assembly dreamed of concerning themselves with matters which today are considered within their province—education, housing, pensions, etc. It was, in fact, an age of localism. As in the nation as a whole nothing was delegated to Congress which could be done by the states, so in the states nothing was delegated to the assembly which could be done by the counties or towns or by individual citizens. Mr. Hall has done painstaking work in editing the *Journals* and in making the voluminous index.

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER, *Princeton, New Jersey*

THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, MAY 18, 1741–JULY 10, 1742. Edited by *J. H. Easterby*. [Colonial Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia,

Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1953, pp. x, 620.) The proceedings recorded in this third volume of the *Journals* of the lower house of the colonial legislature of South Carolina continue without a break those recorded in the second volume, published in 1952, for the assembly elected in August, 1739, was not dissolved until August, 1742. An early entry reminds us that Charleston was still a burned-out city, for a resolution was adopted on May 19, 1741, exempting from duty the bread and flour sent by charitable Philadelphians as a present to the sufferers "from the late dreadful Fire." Much of the Commons' business, as always, was fiscal—settling accounts and apportioning taxes. They were also concerned with establishing roads, bridges, and ferries; with regulating the Charleston market; with building churches and chapels; with maintaining patrols to keep discipline among the slaves. It is astonishing to see how they turned their attention back and forth from great affairs of state, like Indian policy and threats of invasion, to such matters as purchasing and shipping out of the province a Negro named Caesar who was adept at making skeleton keys. Overshadowing all other issues was the threat of Spanish power based on St. Augustine. The expedition of the sanguine but hopelessly indecisive James Oglethorpe against that outpost in the summer of 1740 had proved a total failure. South Carolina had contributed men, money, ships, and supplies, and the assembly wanted to know why they had proved so ineffective. Some 170 pages of the present volume are taken up with the exhaustively detailed and documented report of the committee of inquiry. The findings can be summed up in two words: bad leadership. None of the Commons House Journal for these years has ever been published before except for contemporary pamphlet printings of the report on the St. Augustine expedition. This admirably edited and beautifully printed series of colonial records continues to provide rich materials for economic, social, military, and political history.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

ANGLO-AMERICAN LAW ON THE FRONTIER: THOMAS RODNEY AND HIS TERRITORIAL CASES. By *William Baskerville Hamilton*. (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1953, pp. x, 498, \$12.50.) Much of the writing about the westward movement has concerned itself with the place of the national government in the process of converting a wilderness area into sovereign states. For the lower Mississippi region, the several volumes of *Territorial Papers* and *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* constitute the most important source materials published that bear upon that process. *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier* is not only an addition to the source materials for the territorial period in Mississippi but also contributes to an understanding of the westward extension of the English common law. The book is divided into four parts: a four-chapter biography of Thomas Rodney of Delaware, who became, under Jefferson's patronage, a judge in the eastern half of Mississippi Territory; a penetrating and provocative essay on the nature and place of territorial courts within the federal system; a descriptive and analytical account of the establishment of the common law as the basic law; and over 300 pages of Judge Rodney's notes on cases, his instruction to juries, and other comments. The judge seems to have been a most injudicious person in Delaware, but in Mississippi he showed an abundance of good sense and a passion for the common law—though he even accepted Montesquieu once when the English authorities seemed to run contrary to justice and common sense. The essay on federal and territorial court relationships shows that there was generally held to be no appeal from a territorial court to a higher federal court, a condition that made the territorial system more absolute, though temporary, than the British system. The voluminous notes on cases before Rodney's court in the period 1804-1809 show that the Natchez region was a law-

abiding frontier generally, troubled with disputes over land titles, stolen goods, bad debts, and others common to a settled society. One reads of harsh punishments, even a puritanical move to punish gambling, but little extra-legal activity commonly associated with frontier life. This volume illustrates the manner in which an important part of American civilization moved westward, and makes a furrow through the federal-territorial court relationships that other researchers may follow.

WALKER D. WYMAN, *Wisconsin State College, River Falls*

FLEUR DE LYS AND CALUMET: BEING THE PÉNICAUT NARRATIVE OF FRENCH ADVENTURE IN LOUISIANA. Translated from French Manuscripts and Edited by *Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams*, Mary Collett Munger Professor of English in Birmingham-Southern College. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953, pp. xxviii, 282, \$4.00.) The narrative of exploration, settlement, and Indian relations in Louisiana, 1698-1721, by André Pénicaut, carpenter, has long been known to historians from the French text in Margry for its colorful detail, vitiated by fantastic errors in chronology and by such other crudities as the invention of an imaginary fourth voyage by Iberville. The present edition, an English translation based upon several extant manuscript copies, is offered to readers as a literary text and hence a contribution to the neglected cultural history of this part of French America. Unfortunately, little attention is devoted to correcting Pénicaut's gross errors, or to explaining how they could have occurred in a narrative written by an eyewitness, professedly in the form of annals. (Apparently Pénicaut used badly dated contemporary notes and depended upon a shaky memory when, after his return to France, threatened with blindness, he cast the narrative into its present form.) The editor refers to an article by Elizabeth McCann exposing numerous errors in the early entries; but neither her corrections nor those of other scholars whose works are cited in the bibliography have been adequately incorporated into the critical apparatus, which is devoted largely to identification of places, etc. No use has been made of Bienville's correspondence, or of the notable monograph by Pierre Heinrich.

VERNER W. CRANE, *University of Michigan*

SUGAR COUNTRY: THE CANE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH, 1753-1950. By *J. Carlyle Sitterson*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1953, pp. ix, 414, \$6.00.) Professor Sitterson's book, *Sugar Country*, brings together the results of his own research, extending back almost two decades, and pertinent studies made by others. Mature and well balanced, it tells the story of a regional culture founded on the basis of a single industry. The first ten chapters concentrate on the slavery regime in sugar planting from 1753 to 1865 and the remaining nine describe the development of the modern industry from 1865 to 1950. The results amply justify Sitterson's chronological and subject-matter arrangement. Here in one volume for the first time will be found the complete story of sugar planting from its origins to recent developments in Louisiana and the fabulous Florida Everglades. By treating the whole time span the author highlights the remarkable changes that have occurred in sugar economy. From modest beginnings in the late eighteenth century to large plantations in the 1850's, through the difficulties of Civil War times, on to the bases of a modern industry laid out in the period 1865 to 1910, to troublesome times from 1906 to 1926, and then to recovery and expansion in Louisiana and Florida in recent years, sugar planting has seldom followed an even pattern for long. In every period Sitterson remains true to his intention of writing the history of sugar culture in the broadest sense of the term. He describes cultivation, technology, manufacture, public policy, labor systems, costs, prices, and profits—all the topics ordinarily found in

economic treatises—and these are related to the life of planters and lesser folk. Although enthusiastic about his subject, Sitterson recognizes the presence of other crops and other patterns of living in the sugar country. Readers are always aware that domestic producers have accounted for only a fraction of the sugar consumed in the United States and that even in Louisiana, where sugar culture was most heavily centered, other crops surpassed sugar cane in value. Because of its balance, thoroughness, and readability, Sitterson's book will probably remain the standard reference for many years. In keeping with its value, the University of Kentucky Press has produced a well edited and attractively illustrated book.

LEWIS E. ATHERTON, *University of Missouri*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

MR. JEFFERSON'S DISCIPLE: A LIFE OF JUSTICE WOODWARD. By *Frank B. Woodford*. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953, pp. viii, 212, \$3.75.) When Michigan Territory was established in 1805, Augustus B. Woodward was appointed by his friend Jefferson as its first supreme judge. He was then in this thirty-first year. The change of milieu from the District of Columbia, where he had become a prominent attorney, to the periphery of an important sector of the United States colonial empire had, at the outset, a depressing effect on Woodward. He arrived in Detroit, designated as the seat of the territorial government, shortly after the town had been destroyed by fire. The tasks ahead seemed insurmountable. Some of the problems with which the administrators of the new territory were confronted included the organization of civil government by the governor and three judges, whose views respecting procedural matters were usually disparate; the planning and rebuilding of Detroit; the adjudication of land titles; the passage, or adoption, of local laws; and the administration of both common and statute law. The necessary limits of this review preclude extended comments on the author's treatment of the various facets of the foregoing (and other) topics. Granting, as I do, that this is an excellent book, a question does arise regarding the matter of emphasis. It is my view that Mr. Woodford has not done ample justice to the critical and difficult problem of the extension of civil law to the territory. The transit of law to a new country was always a painful process and it seems to me the subject is insufficiently emphasized. Woodward surely had a large part, probably a decisive one, in crystallizing the American concept of law on at least one sector of the frontier. On the other hand, very considerable space is given to Woodward's idiosyncrasies which, while important to a complete understanding of the man, have not too much relevancy to his more notable contributions. A score of citations are made to original manuscript sources, correctly located, which have been published in convenient and accessible form; but no indication of the latter is supplied. The footnotes are placed in the end-pages, a highly inconvenient arrangement, for which sin of commission the author could hardly be responsible.

CLARENCE E. CARTER, *National Archives*

ON THE OREGON TRAIL: ROBERT STUART'S JOURNEY OF DISCOVERY. Edited by *Kenneth A. Spaulding*. [American Exploration and Travel.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953, pp. xiii, 192, \$3.75.) Almost all the published accounts of travelers in the west reveal their daily struggle toward the sunset and their ultimate arrival at some frontier location. The journal of Robert Stuart, however, describes a very early expedition which began on the Pacific Coast and moved eastward, traveling over a good part of what later became the Oregon Trail. The young Scotsman saw a lot of country which was "discovered" much later. The story

of Stuart's western experience begins in 1810, when he sailed around the Horn and up to the mouth of the Columbia with the party that founded John Jacob Astor's fur-trading post on the Columbia. For two years the company's New York office heard nothing of the success or failure of the venture, not to mention its needs. In June of 1812, therefore, Stuart and a small party of men set out for St. Louis and civilization. They bore dispatches for Astor in New York. The journey, which consumed nearly a year, was much like that of other, and later, small parties traveling in strange country. There were periods of near-starvation, followed by great feasts when game was found. In general, the Indians were friendly but given to thieving, and the little expedition carefully skirted some of the larger, and more dangerous, tribes. Stuart, conscious of the significance of his overland trip, made an effort to list distances, to describe terrain, and to note the types and quantity of game observed. The editor has retraced the route carefully and has noted present map locations so frequently that the reader has no trouble following the travelers. In general, the work is attractively prepared and proves to be pleasant reading. A "selected" bibliography is offered, listing a number of travel accounts dealing with the region, but this reviewer wonders why Mr. Spaulding's loyalty to a fellow townsman led him to include A. B. Guthrie's western novels, which, excellent as they are, do not seem as "select" as a number of early travel works concerning the region which are available.

ROBERT G. ATHEARN, *University of Colorado*

LOG TRANSPORTATION IN THE LAKE STATES LUMBER INDUSTRY, 1840-1918: THE MOVEMENT OF LOGS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO LAND SETTLEMENT, WATERWAY DEVELOPMENT, RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION, LUMBER PRODUCTION AND PRICES. By *William Gerald Rector*. [American Waterways Series, IV.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1953, pp. 352, \$10.00.) The lumber industry is an important American economic activity of which no adequate historical study has been made. The cutting and use of timber have been important factors in American development since the first colonial days. Lumbering was a necessary prelude to settlement and use of land, and it supplied raw materials for farms, factories, and transportation facilities. *Log Transportation in the Lake States Lumber Industry* helps to fill one of the holes in our knowledge of the history of lumbering. After explaining the key role which transportation played in the industry in the lake states, Dr. Rector describes the mid-nineteenth-century movement of logs from stump to river. Next he discusses such processes as river driving to sawmills or booming areas, sorting of logs, construction of rafts, and movement of rafts by towboat on the Mississippi. The story is enlivened by the portrayal of the physical battles and legislative struggles over the use of rivers. Consideration is given to the use of railroads, which during the last quarter of the century reduced the lumberman's dependence on iced roads for hauling logs and on rivers for floating them to mills. In spite of the scarcity of adequate business records, the author attempts to evaluate the importance of competitive costs and other factors in the rise and decline of different methods of transportation. In this careful consideration of the log transportation business it would have been appropriate to give greater emphasis to the importance of shipment to the Chicago market. Both text and citations indicate wide coverage of newspapers and lumbering records in Minnesota, somewhat less complete consideration of such data in Wisconsin, and even less attention to Michigan sources. Readers may question the choice of words and lack of detail, but on the whole the subject is clearly presented. The monograph is easy to use because

of such aids as ample footnotes located at the bottom of nearly every page, appendixes, extended bibliography, and full index.

GEORGE B. ENGBERG, *University of Cincinnati*

OLSON'S NEW DEAL FOR CALIFORNIA. By *Robert E. Burke*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953, pp. 279, \$4.00.) This volume is a study of Culbert L. Olson, who, in 1938, became the first Democratic governor of California in forty years. Coming from Utah to California in 1920, he was elected to the state senate in 1934, where he sponsored with some success a program of progressive legislation. Decisively elected governor on a liberal platform, Olson, a follower of Bryan and the elder La Follette, and an enthusiastic New Dealer, regarded himself as the representative of the people and as the leader of his party, responsible for a far-reaching program. This included public ownership of utilities, production for use, facilities for the unemployed, compulsory health insurance, and tax revision. On the controversial issue of pensions, he attempted unsuccessfully to steer a middle course. Olson faced many difficulties. Conservative Republicans controlled the senate; the Democrats in the assembly were divided into factions; there were few jobs to be awarded to his supporters. The press was consistently, almost unanimously, hostile to his policies, as were a powerful coalition of entrenched economic interests and the professional agitators for pensions. The governor lacked administrative ability, was quick to anger, stubborn, and undiplomatic. Despite substantial achievement in certain fields, Olson's basic program was rejected by the legislature, and his administration was characterized by bitterness, frustration, and recrimination. Renominated in 1946, he was badly defeated for re-election by Earl Warren, who pledge a "non-partisan" administration and executive cooperation. Dr. Burke has used effectively the Olson and other manuscript collections, documentary sources, and newspapers. Although sympathetic, the book is not an "official" biography. It is a valuable contribution to the recent political history of California.

THOMAS S. BARCLAY, *Stanford University*

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Latin-American History

Joseph R. Barager¹

GENERAL

- BALBOA OF DARIÉN: DISCOVERER OF THE PACIFIC. By Kathleen Romoli. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1953, pp. xv, 431, \$5.00.) This volume provides for the first time in any language a detailed and satisfactory account of the life and death of Darién, the earliest Spanish colony on the mainland of America. Balboa was present at the discovery in 1501 of Darién on the Caribbean shore where Panama and South America join, helped to establish a colony there in 1509, was governing it

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

capably when Governor Pedrarias was sent out to take over in 1514, engaged in various expeditions during which he discovered the Pacific, and in 1519 was beheaded by order of the notoriously cruel and jealous governor. Balboa is pictured as "brave, resourceful, ambitious, unsubtle; a magnificent frontier leader with considerable intelligence, unusual common sense." Nevertheless he appears to have been taken in more than once by his wiler enemies which makes one wonder whether in fact he did have so much "uncommon common sense." Miss Romoli has re-created, with remarkable success, the incredible hardships and bravery of the *conquistadores*, their battles against the Indians with the aid of such war dogs as Leoncico, who was so valuable a fighter that he drew a crossbowman's pay, and the bureaucratic scheming and strenuous struggles for power at this frontier settlement, culminating in the judicial murder of Balboa. It is a rich panorama of historical fact and some fancy—for certain dramatic accounts are given without benefit of evidence—which is spread before the reader as a swiftly moving, well-told tale with many delightful and amusing stories dredged up out of the extant documents. No new manuscript material is revealed, and Miss Romoli apparently did not search in the Archive of the Indies. The author combines—on the whole successfully—meticulous, extensive investigation with a humorous imagination and rich vocabulary. On only one major point is Miss Romoli unconvincing, and this has to do with her treatment of sources. She points out in the foreword how biased and unsatisfactory are practically all the surviving historical accounts bearing on Darién, how many gaps exist in our knowledge of those far-off years, and how many key documents relating to Balboa have disappeared. Then she proceeds to write her story with *brío* and certainty, a certainty so absolute that she freely charges others with being "all wrong" on various matters. But she provides the antidote for this, too, remarking that one must always keep in mind this maxim, when dealing with the early years of American colonization: "*It ain't necessarily so.*"

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Periodicals new to this listing include *Revista de la sociedad de historia de la medicina* (Caracas), no. 1, 1953, and *Central America and America*, no. 2, April, 1953. *Imago mundi—Revista de historia de la cultura* (Buenos Aires), no. 1, September, 1953, also appears here for the first time. The editorial staff of this promising new review is headed by José Luis Romero and includes Francisco Romero, Roberto F. Giusti, and José Babini.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The Chicago Meeting, 1953

The American Historical Association held its sixty-eighth annual meeting on December 28, 29, and 30, 1953, at the Conrad Hilton, Chicago. Registrations numbered 1,292, with 405 of these being advanced registrations. Eighteen affiliated societies, associations, conferences, and similar groups met concurrently with the Association. Except for a joint session and a luncheon of the American Society of Church History, at the Blackstone Hotel, and a daily tea and an exhibit at the Newberry Library, all the sessions were held at the Conrad Hilton. In all there were forty-eight general and joint sessions, luncheon conferences, and dinner meetings.

Local arrangements were in the able and experienced hands of Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library to whom an Association meeting in Chicago is an old story. Other members of the Committee on Local Arrangements were Paul M. Angle of the Chicago Historical Society, Daniel J. Boorstin of the University of Chicago, Robert F. Fries of DePaul University, Everett Graff, J. Daggett Harvey, Richard S. Hooker of Roosevelt College, Paul Kiniry of Loyola University, Richard Leopold of Northwestern University, and Franklin Meine. Members of the staff of the Conrad Hilton, especially James C. Collins and Joseph O'Brien, were most helpful. Guy Stanton Ford, Boyd C. Shafer, and the Washington office of the Association contributed much to the success of the meeting.

The Committee on Program consisted of Lynn M. Case of the University of Pennsylvania, David Harris of Stanford University, Leonard W. Labaree of Yale University, C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University, and Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan (chairman). The program was the result of many suggestions; some made by members on their own initiative, others offered in response to a direct appeal. It would make too long a list to name all who helped, but in addition to members of the program committee, the chairman is indebted especially to David Owen of Harvard University, William H. Dunham of Yale University, Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University, William C. Bark of Stanford University, Kent Roberts Greenfield of the Department of the Army, Beatrice Hyslop of Hunter College, Hajo Holborn of Yale University, Charles Jelavich of the University of California, Berkeley, Charles E. Odegard of the University of Michigan, and Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University. To those who arranged the programs of the sessions and to the many participants belongs any praise that may be due for the success of the meeting.

While there was no central theme to the program, there was an emphasis on certain areas and periods. The history of Europe was stressed, including medieval, early modern, and recent European history; also Latin America. There

was a focus on England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on Europe since 1763, and on the Christian religion in the Old and the New Worlds. Sessions were devoted to Byzantine history and to entrepreneurial history for the first time, and early American history again appeared on the program.

II

Two papers were read at the ancient history session presided over by J. W. Swain of the University of Illinois. From the fact that the ancient writers regularly spoke of the Seleucid Empire as the *Imperium Macedonicum*, Charles F. Edson of the University of Wisconsin in a paper on "Imperium Macedonicum: The Seleucid Empire and the Literary Evidence," concluded that the empire was regarded strictly as a Macedonian national state, with political institutions roughly resembling those of Macedonia, and that its rulers were little concerned with dreams of a world state, or of the brotherhood of man, as has sometimes been alleged. Keith C. Seele of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in a paper entitled "The Pharaoh Ay and the Close of the Amarna Age," made ingenious use of scanty historical materials to reconstruct the life of Ay and his relation to the Pharaohs Akhenaton and Tutankhamun. In a lively discussion afterward many of the larger aspects of Egyptian imperialism in the Amarna period were considered.

The first of six sessions on medieval history was entitled "East and West in the Early Middle Ages." It was presided over by William C. Bark of Stanford University. In the opening paper, "Early Mediaeval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods," Richard E. Sullivan of Northeast Missouri State Teachers College maintained that the work of the Easterner was made relatively easy by the strong political support he was able to count on and by the pagans' profound respect for Byzantine culture. The Western missionary, whose best and steadiest support came from the church, had to rely much more on his own efforts and he had to present a much simpler form of Christianity than that transmitted by the Greeks. In treating "The Idea of Reform in the Early Mediaeval East and West" Gerhart B. Ladner of Fordham University discussed three ideological aspects which are of crucial significance in both the Eastern and in the Western tradition, viz., the ideas of (1) the return to Paradise, (2) the recovery of man's lost image-likeness with God, and (3) the Kingdom of God and the City of God. In his treatment of these ideas Professor Ladner brought out the differences between the positions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, emphasizing the importance and influence of St. Augustine's concept of clerical and intellectual monasticism, which had no parallel in the Christian East.

In the final paper at this session, "Gold and Coins in the Mediterranean, ca. 400-800," Carlo M. Cipolla, recently appointed professor of economic history at the University of Venice, pointed out that although many big coins circulated,

there was always one which prevailed as the international currency and of which most other big coins were only more or less faithful copies. Between the end of the Roman Empire and up to ca. 700 the dominant coin in the Mediterranean area, including the West, was the gold *solidus* or *nomisma* of the Byzantine Empire. After the monetary reform of Abd el Malek, however, the gold Moslem *dinar* soon won tremendous prestige and was used from Italy to Britain as well as in Moslem lands. Thereafter the Mediterranean world had two strong coins that enjoyed international prestige and circulated widely, and both were of non-Western origin. Economically and politically weak, Europe did not try to compete with Byzantines or Moslems but gave up any pretense of issuing a gold coinage and basically shifted to a silver one. In the first prepared comment Edward R. Hardy of Berkeley Divinity School referred particularly to the difference in ethos between Byzantine Orthodox and Latin culture. A. R. Lewis of the University of Texas asserted the importance of the absence in the West before 800 of an effective universal state, for when states began to be re-established, the basic patterns of Western religious, economic, and cultural life had already been laid down in response to organic social forces, an origin in freedom which has never lost its force.

For the first time in recent years, possibly for the first time in the history of the Association, there was a session devoted exclusively to Byzantine history. The subject was "The Study of Byzantine History in American Universities," with Glanville Downey of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection as chairman. Papers were read by Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania, Robert L. Wolff of Harvard University, and Theodore H. Erck of Vassar College. Mr. Setton's paper was entitled "Byzantine Politics and Economics in the Mediterranean World." In particular, he challenged the idea of the progressive atrophy of the empire, and showed that the Byzantines consistently and intelligently strove to preserve their state and their church, never despaired of their ability to do so, and rigorously disciplined themselves to this end. In the economic sphere, he stressed the extent of government control of economic activity, and supported the view that Byzantium long enjoyed a favorable balance of trade with Persian and Moslem lands.

Mr. Wolff's paper, "The Byzantine Background of Balkan and Russian Statecraft and Diplomacy," dealt with the legacy of ideas and practices received by the Balkan and Russian Slavic states and also by the Ottoman Empire from Byzantium. He emphasized their influence upon the evolution of Russian caesaropapism and the Russian imperial autocracy. He showed how in their diplomatic relations with other powers both the tsars and the Sublime Porte long continued to hold the attitude of the Byzantine emperors toward foreign rulers, and to conduct their negotiations with them by Byzantine methods. Mr. Erck in a paper on "The Status of Byzantine Studies in the United States" surveyed the work being offered in the Byzantine field in American colleges and uni-

versities and the amount of Byzantine source materials available in English translation for such work. He pointed out the great need for translations of the Byzantine secular historians. Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University commented on the value of a knowledge of Byzantine history for the historian of the West in the Middle Ages, and A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan expressed confidence in the development of Byzantine studies in the United States. Nearly a hundred and fifty persons attended this session.

The session entitled "Mediaeval England" was presided over by Sidney Painter, the Johns Hopkins University. William Huse Dunham, Jr., Yale University, read a paper on "The Kingdom and the Crown in Mediaeval England." He sketched the process by which the crown became an institution independent of the person of the king and how it gradually acquired powers and privileges which not even the king could deprive it of. Before the end of the Middle Ages the crown was regarded as immortal and as comprising the whole realm. In 1533 it became completely sovereign—subject to no earthly power. Fred A. Cazal, Jr., of the University of Connecticut read a paper entitled "Royal Finance in the Thirteenth Century." After a brief summary of the sources of information available on the subject, Mr. Cazal discussed the various types of revenue enjoyed by the English kings and gave estimates of their total income at various times. He then pointed out that while extensive and valuable work had been done on the royal income, the king's expenditures had received little attention. He gave some tentative figures indicating that some two thirds of the royal income was used for war and diplomacy. Michael R. Powicke of the University of Toronto discussed "Edward II and His Army." His chief concern was to show the constitutional importance of the transition from the feudal levy to the "contracted" army. The king's efforts to extend the traditional military service owed by all free men were opposed by both the barons and local groups. The communities simply wanted to prevent such an extension, but the barons wanted to make it depend on parliamentary consent. In the reign of Edward III the baronial viewpoint triumphed.

Barnaby C. Keeney of Brown University ably summarized the three papers. He pointed out that in the Middle Ages as later there had been opposition to separating the crown and the king. He suggested that the idea of the royal prerogative needed study as well as the concept of the crown. In connection with Mr. Powicke's paper Mr. Keeney expressed some doubt whether anyone really knew what the men of the time meant by "community of the realm." One commentator speaking from the floor suggested the importance of considering the methods used to raise naval forces as well as troops for the army. Another supplied a recent legal definition of the royal prerogative. Miss Helen Cam of Harvard University stated that she believed this definition essentially reflected the medieval conception of the prerogative. In her view the prerogative was the royal power outside the law not over it.

Professor Cam read a paper on "Local and National Representation in England under Edward I and Edward II" at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin presided. The motive force toward representation, Miss Cam said, may come from either of two parties. On the side of the community the motive may be the saving of time or expense, the wish for greater efficiency (the committee), the need of a spokesman to present a common petition or report, or the need of accredited agents for the purpose of litigation. The ruler may impose a representative technique if he wishes to get from the community information as to local customs, resources, or occurrences, especially in connection with judicial actions; reports on the conduct of royal agents; or co-operation in the process of assessing and levying taxes. The transition from enforced co-operation to effective consent is masked to some extent by the development of a juristic theory as to the *need* for consent; the paper questions, she said, how far the consent of the representatives to taxation was more than formal in the period under discussion. The political motive for employing representation is bound up with the disintegration of the feudal structure of society, with the corresponding redistribution of economic and social power. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, representation appears to be employed as a vehicle for political propaganda when kings wish to make contact with groups below the top feudal level, and it appears that barons, also, see its uses in this connection.

First to discuss Miss Cam's paper, B. Wilkinson of the University of Toronto maintained that Parliament was a creation of the monarchy and the community of the realm, not of the monarchy alone. The commons became an essential part of the community much earlier, he thought, than Miss Cam admitted, for during the baronial movement of 1258-65, when the barons needed their support, the commons began to participate in Parliament. The law and taxation demanded that they be called upon as a part of the consenting community. Moreover, Parliament was chiefly a political assembly, a *tractatus*, in which equals discussed matters in hand and came to agreement. Robert S. Hoyt of the State University of Iowa felt that Miss Cam might have included a discussion of ecclesiastical representation. Moreover, he disagreed with her on these points: that the tenants of the lords had no feeling of being a corporate community and were not represented by the lords; that the sentiment of national unity existed before representatives in the name of the whole community took the oath of allegiance to Edward I in 1273; that demesne villis were possibly represented in theory in the reign of Edward I, but not in fact until 1322, when they were merged with the shires. He agreed, however, that because of feudal restrictions on representation, the royal authority took the initiative in creating Parliament, and that representatives were useful as a means of carrying the royal interpretation back to their communities. But again he disagreed in asserting that the commons played an important role in this period.

The third participant in the discussion, George L. Haskins of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, agreed with Helen Cam that the significant forms of representation were initiated from above, and warned against reading "democratic" back into Parliament in the time of Edward I and Edward II. Modern parliamentary government did not begin when representation became a regular feature of Parliament. In England, popular representation became associated with the work of a court of law, thus differing from the Continental development. Parliament started as an afforced meeting of the king's council as a tribunal set above the courts and departments of government. It was judicial in nature, and the business largely judicial—taxation and legislation were incidental. Hence the presence of elected representatives was not essential, but it was sometimes convenient for political considerations, as Miss Cam pointed out.

The Mediaeval Academy of America held a dinner meeting at which Charles E. Odegard of the University of Michigan presided. B. Wilkinson of the University of Toronto spoke on "Politics and Politicians, Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England." He found in limited monarchy, which had been attained in its essentials by 1399, the outstanding feature of the age. It was not achieved by the barons developing old habits or pursuing self-interest, but by remarkable pioneer efforts in political practice and thought, especially in matters such as the terms of co-operation between the king and his subjects, representation and consent. Baronial opposition succeeded for the most part precisely because the barons stood not only for their own but also for the general interest. Only on this basis could there ever have been achieved a "national" opposition to the crown such as that which constantly existed in England between 1215 and 1399.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association considered "The Problem of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at the End of the Middle Ages." John U. Nef, of the University of Chicago, served as chairman substituting for Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard. In his paper, retitled "The Absolutist Concept *Mysteries of State* and Its Late Medieval Origins," Ernst H. Kantorowicz of the Institute for Advanced Study brilliantly traced this concept as a late offshoot of the numerous cross-relations which had been going on between church and state throughout the Middle Ages. Emphasizing the technique of transferring theological thought to the political sphere, he drew on such illustrations as the use of the mystical marriage of Christ to the church transferred to the king and realm, wherein the king was occasionally termed the *mysticus coniunx* of the state. John A. Kemp, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago, discussing "The Problem of Papal Power under Innocent IV," forcefully emphasizing the pope's achievements as an eminent canonist, drew attention to the distinction, in delineating medieval political theory, which must be made between the opinions of trained canonists and the publicists of Innocent's time. He underscored passages in Innocent's *Commentary* on the *Decretals* and in his *Register* in which the pope's interpretation of his power in civil affairs hinged upon the existence of cases of *defectus iustitiae*. Commenting on

Professor Kantorowicz' paper, Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin insisted that undeviating attention be given to the limitations on power in practice and theory present in the Middle Ages, which was a time, he reiterated, in which amorality, Machiavellianism, and totalitarianism had not yet established their claims. Substituting for Stephen Kuttner, of the Catholic University of America, Gerhart B. Ladner of Fordham University supported Father Kemp in stressing the limitations which must be recognized as operating to qualify the meaning of the *plenitudo potesta* in any discussion of medieval papal claims and practices.

III

"Nationalism and Internationalism in the Renaissance" was the theme of a session at which Myron P. Gilmore of Harvard University presided. The first paper, read by Palmer A. Throop of the University of Michigan, was entitled "Castiglione: The International Ideal of Chivalry in Patronage." After analyzing the phenomenon of patronage in the feudal courts of Provence, Mr. Throop showed how the Italian nobility adapted themselves to the despotic courts of the Renaissance based upon a money economy. Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* provided a pattern for renovating a discredited nobility and this pattern became an international ideal adopted in varying degrees in the countries of northern Europe in the sixteenth century. In accordance with the ideals described by Castiglione the nobility accepted participation in cultural activity under an enlightened prince for the welfare of the state. Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr gave the second paper, "Machiavelli: Again the Last Chapter of *The Prince*." Mr. Gilbert surveyed briefly the varying interpretations of Machiavelli's nationalism and suggested that a new approach to the problem might be found in the analysis of the intellectual elements that went into the making of Machiavelli's appeal. Mr. Gilbert suggested that Machiavelli, turning away from the parochialism of the Florentine ruling group and seeking a basis for an ethical revival, found it not in Savonarola's Kingdom of Christ but in the Petrarchan vision of Italy which he now linked with a realistic political program.

"Erasmus: The International Mind" was the title of the third paper, read by Craig Thompson of the English department of Lawrence College. Mr. Thompson pointed out that Erasmus' internationalism was the result of experience and temperament as well as deliberation. He illustrated Erasmus' keenness of observation of national characteristics which was combined with the polemic on the evils of war and an insistence on the obligation to keep the peace. In conclusion he presented an Erasmus who cherished an ideal of humanity transcending the claims of any particular patriotism. The first commentator was E. H. Harbison of Princeton University. The body of his comment took the much appreciated form of an imaginary dialogue between Machiavelli, Erasmus, and More. By this device Mr. Harbison was able not only to bring out the degree of understanding and misunderstanding which might have existed among these

three great contemporaries but also to make clear the ambiguities in attempting to interpret the thought of any one of them from the standpoint of modern nationalism.

The last speaker was Hajo Holborn of Yale who placed the whole discussion of Renaissance nationalism and the problems which had been raised by the various papers in a broader historical setting. He distinguished between medieval national claims embodying assertions of being more Christian than rival groups and the national sentiment in Italy linked to a new historicism. Accepting Mr. Gilbert's interpretation of Machiavelli, he contrasted the latter's innovations with the retrospective character of Erasmus' thought and outlined the fate of the new nationalism in the years of the Reformation.

Palmer A. Throop of the University of Michigan presided over a session on "The West European Nation-State in the Age of Charles V." Wallace T. MacCaffrey of Haverford College read a paper on the "English Political Crisis, 1530-1560," in which he pointed out that the control of the state was not, as on the Continent, vested in a monarchy resting on the pillars of a standing army and a paid bureaucracy and supported by extensive powers of taxation. England was ruled by the crown in close co-operation with a group of aristocratic councilors, endowed by monastic lands and ennobled by royal decree. William J. Bouwsma of the University of Illinois, in a paper, "Francis I and the Power of the French Monarchy," presented the thesis that although the state was becoming more centralized, the power of the king was declining because it was shared with a court nobility, who determined matters of policy, while bureaucratic officials were escaping direct royal control. The third paper was by Rhea Marsh Smith of Rollins College, "Spain: Political Power in the Personal Union." Mr. Smith took the position that the real political authority based in the personal union was held by the Catholic rulers, who delegated their authority but never shared it with the nobility and clergy. Harold J. Grimm of the Ohio State University commented on the papers, pointing out that the desire for peace on the part of the bourgeoisie in all three countries went far toward the increase of the crown's power in controlling an irresponsible and pugnacious feudality. Several critics from the floor discussed the point that Francis I must have had good reasons for entrusting power to the nobility again, and that his motivation in doing so remained unexplained. Altogether, it was a stimulating and profitable session in which it emerged that the nobility shared in an important way in the government of England, France, and Spain, although in the case of Spain there was less limitation on the power of the crown as a result of this adaptation of the feudality to the centralization of the state under a strong monarchy.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society for Reformation Research was presided over by Robert H. Fischer of the Chicago Lutheran Seminary. Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon read a paper on "Marius Nizolius, 1488-1567: Ciceronian Lexicographer and

Philosopher." Nizolius was the author of two memorable works: a large lexicon of Latin eloquence, based entirely on Cicero (*Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem*, 1535), long a standard of its kind, and a philosophical book (*De veris principiis . . . philosophandi*, 1553), which Leibniz reprinted in 1670, with notes and an introduction. Until recently comparatively few scholars have given Nizolius any attention. Mr. Breen discussed Nizolius and Ciceronianism, the lexicon, the polemical writings to 1553, and *De veris principiis*. In commenting on this paper Richard P. McKeon of the University of Chicago sought to clarify Nizolius' place among the various Renaissance views of rhetoric.

In the second paper, on "Luther and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Diego de Uceda," John E. Longhurst of the University of New Mexico brought out the confusion that existed in the Spain of the 1520's between the heresy of the Protestant Martin Luther and the demands for church reform made by the Catholic humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam. The trial of Diego de Uceda is important not only because it is the first Lutheran trial conducted by the Inquisition of Toledo but also because it illustrates the confusion in the inquisitorial mind between Luther and Erasmus, and demonstrates the dangers of unguarded talk in times of religious and patriotic excitement such as characterized Spain during the days of the Protestant Revolution. Mrs. Felix Hirsch of Bard College in commenting on the paper remarked that although Charles V tolerated Erasmianism in Spain, by 1520 he used the Inquisition in Flanders against the books of Erasmus and Luther. Roman Catholic attitudes on the treatment of heretics were confused and complex until 1540. Rome was reluctant to grant other countries (e.g., Portugal) the privileges of the Inquisition.

The topic of the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History was "The Nature of English Puritanism." Sidney E. Mead of the University of Chicago, president of the society, presided. Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago pointed out the tendency in Puritanism to run into a political utopianism, or unrealistic attitudes and actions, because of a basic ideological rigidity. George L. Mosse of the State University of Iowa argued that the nature of Puritan casuistry tended to force its political thinking in a Machiavellian direction. Jerald Brauer of the University of Chicago presented a historical and theological analysis of the nature of the Puritan movement. The three papers will be published in the June, 1954, issue of *Church History*.

"Changing Soviet Views of Russian History" was the theme of a general session in which two former Soviet historians, now associated with the Ford Foundation's Research Program on the U.S.S.R., participated. C. E. Black of Princeton University also read a paper, and George B. Carson, Jr., of the University of Chicago served as chairman. Leo A. Yaresh, formerly of the University of Kiev, in a paper entitled "Ivan the Terrible as Viewed by Soviet Historiography," noted the existence in pre-Soviet historiography of two major positions with respect to Ivan IV. While some Russian historians condemned his use

of terror, others found it possible to justify it on the ground that it was ultimately useful to the Russian state. Soviet historiography had adopted the second of these positions. In the works of M. N. Pokrovsky, published during the 1920's, major emphasis was placed on the historical regularity of the class struggle between the upper feudal nobility and the medium landholders and urban bourgeoisie, in whose interests and on whose initiative the struggle was waged. In Pokrovsky's opinion, Ivan's personal role in this struggle was unimportant. After the mid-1930's, however, Soviet historiography revised its estimate of Ivan's significance. Thereafter stress was laid on his personal initiative in liquidating feudal relationships in Russia, and Ivan himself was depicted as a wise statesman who could, however, be harsh when necessary.

C. E. Black, in discussing "The Reforms of Peter the Great in Soviet Historiography," stressed the importance of Pokrovsky, who maintained that Peter's reign was based on merchant capitalism, and that his policies needlessly squandered the wealth of the Russian peoples in the interest of a small minority. Shortly after Pokrovsky's death in 1932, a new interpretation insisted that the economic base of Russian society from the ninth to the mid-nineteenth centuries was "feudalism," but that within this framework rulers such as Peter represented a progressive influence. Peter the Great was now praised for centralizing the government and stimulating manufactures. From the mid-thirties to the mid-forties, Mr. Black said, Soviet historians enjoyed a degree of independence from ideological controls, and the publication of sources and scholarly monographs was resumed, primarily by scholars trained before the Revolution. More recently official views of Marxism have once again been enforced, and the primacy of Communist party requirements has become increasingly apparent.

Konstantine F. Shteppa in the third paper, on "The Theory of the 'Lesser Evil' in Russian Colonialism," described the attempts at historical justification of Soviet Great-Power centralism. The formula of "the lesser evil" appeared in connection with the overthrow of the Pokrovsky school in the 1930's. It became popular, however, only after the appearance of M. Nechkina's letter to the editor of the journal *Problems of History* (1951, no. 4). The formula became a subject of lively discussion, but was then officially censured, while the discussion itself was condemned as unnecessary and harmful. It served to present Russian colonialism as an evil not absolute, as the Pokrovsky school had pictured it, but relative. But party policy required more than this—it required that the consequences of colonialism, if not colonialism itself, should be portrayed as something unconditionally positive. The formula began to be interpreted to mean that all the negative features of Russian colonialism were due to the tsarist government, while all the positive consequences of annexation to Russia were ascribed to the Russian people.

In commenting upon Mr. Yaresh's paper, Anatole G. Mazour of Stanford University dissented from the view that Ivan was only a bloodthirsty maniac. If

Ivan was difficult, so too were the boyars, who, since they offered nothing but obstruction, invited destruction. The operation on the Russian body politic which Ivan performed had to come. In the given time and under the given circumstances Ivan acted as most contemporary sixteenth-century rulers would have acted. Jesse D. Clarkson of Brooklyn College suggested that if Mr. Black had had more time he might have elaborated certain themes. One such theme in Soviet historical writing would be the shift from a dream of the Russian Revolution as an episode in world revolution to a more practical consideration of Russian national development and the needs of past Russian rulers in their respective Russian context. Soviet historiography should be seen as part of a general effort to give Soviet citizens an adequate idea of the Russian past instead of emphasizing the phantom of non-Soviet people's revolutionary future. Fred S. Rodkey of the University of Illinois deplored the tendency to forget the vast turmoil of recent Russian history and pleaded for more understanding of the effect on national outlook of such an upheaval as the revolution, two world wars, and forced industrialization.

Breaking away from conventional themes in the study of the Balkans, the session devoted to southeastern Europe examined intellectual and religious facets of that area during the Ottoman overlordship. In his paper on "Greek Writers in Rumania and Their Influence during the Phanariote Period," G. Georgiades Arnakis of the University of Kansas revealed the extensive Greek impact upon politically articulate Rumanians and the stimulus thus imparted to the emerging nationalist cause. Charles Jelavich of the University of California, Berkeley, presented "Some Aspects of Serbian Religious Development in the Eighteenth Century." He argued that Serbian intellectuals dwelling under the Habsburg flag, animated by rationalist convictions from the West of Europe, seized the leadership, intellectual and political, of the Serb nationality, repudiating subordination to Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople alike. The Orthodox Church, hitherto the exclusive spawning ground of the Serbian dream of independence, lost its traditional ascendancy. Secular currents merging with older religious loyalties infused fresh energy into the aspirations for Yugoslav unity. Taking as his subject, "Turkish Attitudes and the Question of Christian Equality, 1839-1876," Roderic H. Davison of George Washington University probed the minds of four leading Ottoman statesmen and of the Turkish "people" concerning equality for Christian populations. Public leaders concurred in favoring a sort of supra-religious concept of Turkish citizenship—call it "Ottomanism." Yet popular opinion continued to regard Christians as inferior, an attitude which was heightened by experience with diplomatic, commercial, and religious agents from Christian Europe. Ultimately, successful drives by Christian groupings for independence removed the questions of egalitarianism and Ottomanism from practical affairs. During the ensuing discussion, which was opened by James F. Clarke of Indiana University, Oscar Halecki of Fordham University called atten-

tion to the rich, almost untouched resources on Balkan history reposing in the Vatican and the Venetian archives. Arthur J. May of the University of Rochester took the chair for this session.

IV

The Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association held its luncheon conference on Tuesday, December 29, with Hajo Holborn of Yale University in the chair. Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University gave a richly documented and sparkling address on "The World Revolution of the West, 1763-1801." It was his thesis that the West experienced an international or "world" revolution in the last third of the eighteenth century. It arose out of the Enlightenment, which had native roots in America as well as in Europe. The main idea was the demand for liberty both of the individual personality and of the individual within a political community. The American and French revolutions were the main phenomena, but democratic, radical, or revolutionary agitation of various forms can be traced in all the Western countries. The success of revolutionary efforts depended in all cases, including that of the American Revolution, on the military power of France. The general war after 1792 spread the revolution. Rather than by a spirit of crusade and expansionism the French were prompted by the war to destroy the class structure, church establishments, legal and economic systems on which the strength of their enemies rested. On the other side they were assisted by some collaborationism, but chiefly by apathy and loss of faith in the old order. The British for their part were driven by the war increasingly to espouse international counterrevolution and further growth of their empire. At times, and as expedient, the French gave encouragement to the lower classes and the British to Russia to take an increasing part in the affairs of the Western world. This interaction between war and revolution was not again paralleled until the twentieth century.

The session devoted to "Some Aspects of the French Revolution" had for its chairman Beatrice F. Hyslop of Hunter College. There were three papers: "Iconoclasm in the French Revolution," by Stanley Idzerda of Michigan State College; "The Revolution and Archives" by Carl Lokke of the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; and "Barère and His Critics," by Leo Gershoy of New York University. Mr. Idzerda drew a distinction in his paper between Revolutionary iconoclasm—the destruction of symbols of the Old Regime—and Revolutionary vandalism, a word coined by the abbé Grégoire—the wanton destruction of existing institutions and arts. The dilemma of the Revolutionaries, between destruction of objects recalling feudalism and the Old Regime and their desire to preserve great art was solved by encouraging iconoclasm and then calling it the "vandalism" of their enemies and by the creation of the Louvre and other museums. In the second paper, Carl Lokke traced the various measures that led to the establishment of the National Archives. The choice of Camus as

archivist, and the conscientious activities of his assistants while he languished in an Austrian prison, preserved much of the Old Regime, as well as the new records of the Revolutionary era. By reference to David Dowd's paper on "The French Departmental Archives and the Fulbright Microfilm Project" and Miss Hyslop's recent research, Mr. Lokke left the impression that voluminous archives have survived.

The third paper dealt with one of the Revolutionary leaders who thus far has escaped an adequate biography. Mr. Gershoy illustrated the persistent vilification of Barère, the spokesman of Jacobin policy through the Terror, whose activity covered the entire Revolutionary era. Later critics repeated earlier uncritical condemnations. Macaulay, in the comment on the 1844 edition of the memoirs of Barère, achieved the zenith of derogatory adjective and denigration. Recent general volumes that have embodied revision of the Revolution in general, have failed to re-examine his career. Barère was never the figure of a Robespierre, a Saint-Just, or a Marat, but did embody the bourgeois and democratic Revolution. Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago commented on the historiography of the Revolution. Miss Hyslop pointed out that despite destruction of genealogical documents, the notarial records now preserved at the Minuterie can supply much information about the nobility. Frederick L. Nussbaum of the University of Wyoming spoke of the records of financial transactions, and the need for further study of those on international affairs. Miss Hyslop asked Mr. Gottschalk and Mr. Lokke about the possibility of an inventory of manuscript materials available in American libraries and archives. None has been attempted thus far, but some recent acquisitions were referred to, such as a large pamphlet collection recently acquired by the New York Public Library.

Liberalism was the subject of a general session at which Crane Brinton of Harvard University presided. David Harris of Stanford University gave the topical paper on "Nineteenth-Century Liberalism: A Twentieth-Century Review." He sketched its development in Europe and Britain from the constitutionalism from above which followed the restoration of 1814 through the formal acquisition of power by middle-class liberals in France and Belgium in 1830, in England in 1832, the great test and apparent defeat of liberalism in 1848, its revival in the third quarter of the century, when liberal parties were at their height, to its decline in the fourth quarter under pressure from democracy and nationalism. He found that liberalism in the first half of the century suffered from an inner contradiction never satisfactorily solved: its bill of rights embraced in theory equal rights for all men, but its political restrictions and economic practices tended toward the establishment of a new citadel of privilege. After 1848, though it accomplished the spread of constitutionalism throughout almost all Europe, it tended under the pressure of demands to use the state as an engine of democratic social reform to lose its members both to a conservative Right which incorporated many of its economic principles and to a socialist Left which incorporated its

egalitarian principles. By the end of the century, the new nationalism and the new irrationalism had been added to the forces undermining classical liberalism. Though there were grave weaknesses, both philosophic and practical, in nineteenth-century liberalism, it was the heir and continuer of one of the great ideals of mankind. Both commentators were warm in their praise of the paper, but they thought that Professor Harris had not paid enough attention to the problem of defining liberalism. For his part, Professor Marshall Dill, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, felt that liberalism was in a sense comparable to the first stage the mystics describe—that of “purgation.” From this negative though most important step Professor Dill did not think nineteenth-century liberalism had made the comparable advance to the mystic’s “illumination.” Professor Charles C. Gillispie of Princeton University maintained that seen in perspective nineteenth-century liberalism had done most important work in making political democracy possible. He urged that a fuller analysis of the movement should go somewhat further into the economic and, in the widest sense, the social implications of classical liberalism.

“Religion, Politics, and Society in Early Victorian England” was the theme of the second joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference on British Studies. J. H. Hexter of Queen’s College presided. R. G. Cowherd of Lehigh University and Gilbert Y. Cahill of Colgate University presented papers dealing with the role of the Dissenters in English politics from 1829 to 1848. Mr. Cowherd in a paper on “The Politics of Dissent, 1832–1848,” found in the Dissenters the representative type of the English middle class, and in their program of religious liberty, removal of religious disabilities, municipal reform, public education by laymen, and church disestablishment the pattern of middle-class aspirations in the decades after Catholic Emancipation. Mr. Cahill in a paper entitled “Irish Catholicism and English Toryism” maintained that English Tories and especially *The Times* devastated the Liberals after Catholic Emancipation by winning the support of a large sector of Nonconformity in a vigorous anti-Irish, antipapal, anti-Catholic campaign. He contended that the solidarity achieved among the masses of Englishmen by the evocation of these common antipathies was one of the elements that immunized England against the revolutionary epidemic that swept Europe in 1848. In his paper on “The Assault on Orthodoxy,” Howard R. Murphy of Newton Centre, Massachusetts, challenged the common notion that the decline in orthodoxy was caused by evolutionary theories and the Higher Criticism. He demonstrated that in three significant cases—Cardinal Newman’s brother, George Eliot, and J. A. Froude—loss of orthodox faith had resulted from a moral revulsion; from a sense that Christian orthodoxy was incompatible with a meliorist outlook on man and society. He suggested that the continued decline of orthodoxy to the present was probably due less to its difficulties in coming to terms with evolution and the Higher Criticism than to its failure to satisfy the consciences of the meliorists. In the

subsequent discussions it was suggested that the first two speakers had both overestimated the political power exercised by the Nonconformists, and had too readily identified them with particular social classes. The question of the relationship between the decline of orthodoxy in England and the earlier attacks on it during the Enlightenment in France was raised.

In a session on "Fields for Exploration in the Italian Risorgimento," at which K. R. Greenfield of the Department of the Army presided, Donald C. McKay of Harvard University led a discussion which invited attention to opportunities presented by the history of modern Italy as a field of study for American scholars. Mr. McKay emphasized the opportunity and obligation of historians to assist in correcting the "images" Americans and Italians have of each other's countries, and proceeded to point out special archival opportunities for contributions by Americans to further study of the themes and periods of the Risorgimento. All of the three papers read made much of what American historians can contribute by virtue of their freedom from the domination of the national political emotions that have inevitably swayed the interest and views of Italy's own historians. All pointed out the importance of exploring more thoroughly the economic and social history of modern Italy. George T. Romani of Northwestern University, in his "Fields of Risorgimento Investigation in the *Mezzogiorno*," invited Americans to study Italy's "question of the South," dwelt on the importance of taking a thoughtful second look at the efforts to solve it made by the despised Bourbon kings of Naples, and offered from experience useful advice about the conditions of research in southern Italy. H. Stuart Hughes of Stanford University in a paper on "The Aftermath: Problems 'Left' by the Risorgimento," presented a brilliant analysis of the successive interpretations of the period 1861-1900 by Italian historians, and pointed out the need of pushing further Croce's classic revision of the proto-Fascist interpretation of the liberalism of that epoch, to be accomplished by systematic and disinterested investigation of its economic and social aspects, its reconciliation with the church, and the "parliamentary" regime in the light of the national-political necessities of the period. He made out a strong case for the opportunity for the younger generation of historians, taking off from the patterns that Jemolo, Chabod, Salvemini, and Delle Piane have sketched, "to rewrite the history of the decades 1861-1900 in less Mazzinian and more realistic terms."

Recent French history was the subject of two general sessions. The first session, devoted to "The Second Empire: A Centennial Retrospect," opened with a paper by Melvin Kranzberg of the Case Institute of Technology on "Napoleon III's 'Liberalization' of the Second Empire." Mr. Kranzberg felt that political liberalization was brought about by pressure of the opposition and Louis Napoleon's desire to retain his power and pass it on to his son. Liberalization was only grudgingly and partially conceded. Moreover the authoritarian administration and the emperor's personal authority tended to undermine its benefits; and the new liberal

leaders, like Ollivier, sometimes resorted to authoritarian usages once they were in power. The result was a meager and half-hearted liberalism which hardly came up to the standards of the current nineteenth-century conception. The second paper, presented by David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri, dealt with "Napoleon III's Transformation of Paris: Origins and Development of the Idea." Mr. Pinkney pointed out that the original idea came from Napoleon III, but he may have been influenced by city planning in America and England as well as by the ideas of his uncle and the Saint-Simonians. Piecemeal attempts had been made by previous regimes; but Napoleon III, with the aid of his resourceful and inflexible prefect, Haussmann, aimed at a general transformation. The emperor was not primarily motivated by the desire of using broader avenues and squares to bring artillery to bear against Paris insurrectionist movements, but in a more constructive spirit he realized that the roots of discontent, unemployment, would be alleviated by public works projects and the stimulation to Paris business stemming from the transformation program. The final paper, by David S. Landes of Columbia University, was on the "Financial Revolution: New Bank and Old." It was during the Second Empire that a revolution in banking came to France by a trend from private commercial banking, such as that of Rothschild, to joint-stock investment banking, such as the *Crédit Mobilier*. While there was some personal rivalry between the old and new institutions, there was more participation than opposition by the old banks in the new enterprises. Lynn M. Case of the University of Pennsylvania served as chairman of the meeting.

The second session was on "Twentieth-Century France," with Edward W. Fox of Cornell University in the chair. Jere C. King of the University of California, Los Angeles, in a paper on "Marshal Foch's Rhineland Scheme: An Inquiry into Military Ethics," discussed the course of action proper for a commander-in-chief who, having just won a war, saw his government pursuing diplomatic policies which, in his professional opinion, promised to lose the peace. He showed how Marshal Foch tried to meet this situation by four tactics: threatening to resign in protest; holding his tongue and hoping for the best; offering his advice, even unsolicited; and maneuvering behind the scenes to produce a diplomatic *fait accompli*. Gordon Wright of the University of Oregon gave the second paper, "Peasant Politics in the Third Republic." He suggested that a new phase in French agrarian history began about 1930. Prior to that time the peasantry had exercised its influence in a silent, unorganized, "passive and negative" way. Since 1930 it is gradually becoming an active, aggressive, self-conscious segment of French society, determined to participate directly in the nation's affairs. In the final paper, on "Leon Blum and the Crisis in Contemporary French Socialism," Joel Colton of Duke University discussed the dichotomy between the party's Marxist, revolutionary, theoretical program and its reformist practice. Few phenomena of the contemporary French political scene, he said, have been more striking than the failure of the French Socialist party to live up to its high promise on the morrow

of liberation. Comment on the papers was offered by John C. Cairns of the University of Toronto, John B. Christopher of the University of Rochester, and Val R. Lorwin of the University of Chicago.

A session under the chairmanship of Hajo Holborn of Yale University dealt with "Basic Forces in the History of the Second German Empire." Otto Pflanze of the University of Massachusetts discussed "Bismarck and German Nationalism." In contrast to certain recent German interpretations which assume that Bismarck's empire was founded in opposition to the idea of nationalism, Mr. Pflanze emphasized Bismarck's exploitation of nationalism in the founding and strengthening of the empire. Nationalism was to him the means to solve the constitutional conflict and to fight the particularism of the states and the political parties. Although not a racial, cultural, or chauvinistic nationalist, Bismarck contributed to the fatal course of German history by creating a synthesis between popular nationalism, autocratic authority, and Prussian militarism. Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University, in a paper on "The Relations of Civilian and Military Authorities in the Second Empire" centered his discussion on the relationship of chancellor and chief of staff. The assumption that soldiers knew best what was good for the nation not only in the military field but also in politics was opposed by Bismarck but without full success. Actually, the elaborate administrative reform of 1883, for which Bismarck bore some responsibility, encouraged the pretensions of the chief of staff. Hindenburg and Ludendorff were able during World War I to claim the right of the military to final decision in all political matters since the civilians and the emperor never faced up to the constitutional issue involved. John L. Snell of Tulane University took as his subject "Republic by Default," the political crisis in Germany that followed the formation of the government of Prince Max of Baden. On the basis of extensive newspaper and archival studies he proved that Wilson's refusal to demand categorically the kaiser's abdication, William's refusal to sacrifice his throne, the cabinet's failure to force the abdication, the reluctance of the moderate reformers to renounce William were the defaults which gave rise to popular unrest and finally rebellion. The discussion was opened by E. Malcolm Carroll of Duke University, who elaborated on the complexity of the Bismarck problem and on the difficulty newspapers offered as a historical source. H. Stuart Hughes of Stanford University, though agreeing to the main thesis of the third paper, wished more weight given to the real possibilities of the constitutionalism which the cabinet of Prince Max represented.

V

Needs and opportunities for study of the relations between Scotland and the American colonies in the eighteenth century was the subject of a session arranged in co-operation with the *William and Mary Quarterly*, which is devoting its April issue to this topic. Leonard W. Labaree of Yale University acted as chairman.

Douglass Adair, editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly* and visiting professor at the University of Washington, opened with a paper on "Scotland and America: Some Comments and Suggestions for Study" in which he considered the question at large and offered several provocative suggestions for research in an area hitherto only little investigated. In the eighteenth century these two "provincial" regions of the British world (as a Londoner might regard them) were in many respects actually the most "progressive" and "creative" areas in the empire and, furthermore, were linked to one another in several important ways. These included Scottish migration to the colonies, trade, and an increasingly significant cultural and intellectual interchange. The speaker differentiated three Scottish groups and assayed their respective characteristics and contributions to colonial development: the Highlanders, the Lowland Scots, and the Scotch-Irish. He emphasized the need for study of the eighteenth-century Scot "on both sides of the Atlantic and both sides of the Irish Channel," using the techniques of cultural anthropology and social psychology, and suggested as a further fruitful field of study the parallel development of Calvinist Lowland Scotland and Puritan New England. Lowland Scotland, he went on to say, and particularly its university-trained men, influenced profoundly the attitudes and actions of Americans in the Revolutionary generation.

Two shorter papers summarized research already under way in this general area. Jacob M. Price of Harvard University discussed "Glasgow and the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775." His paper outlined the spectacular rise of Glasgow to pre-eminence among the British outports in this important branch of eighteenth-century commerce and discussed the business organization of the Glasgow merchants, the place of the Scots tobacco factor in the colonies, and the significant part Scottish financial credit played in the development of the Piedmont region of the tobacco colonies. Ian C. C. Graham of the University of Illinois read a paper on "The Eighteenth-Century Migration from Scotland to North America." He emphasized the need for understanding the conditions in both the Highlands and the Lowlands which contributed to the movement of population, stressing the twin problems of poverty and the slender means of subsistence. He also called attention to the migration of whole communities as a striking feature of Highland settlement in the colonies. Richard J. Hooker of Roosevelt College opened the general comment. He suggested the need for examining the factors in America which particularly attracted Scots to the colonies as well as those in Scotland which led groups and individuals to leave their old homes. He was unwilling to accept as fully established Mr. Adair's suggestion of the direct influence of Scottish political and social thought on American political and social action in the era of the Revolution, but readily agreed that this was a theory deserving of careful and systematic research.

Two interpretations of Christian culture as a factor in the development of American democracy were presented at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Studies Association. George Rogers Taylor

of Amherst College presided. H. Richard Niebuhr of Yale University emphasized the doctrine of the covenant as important not only in the form which it took in colonial New England but as an essential factor whose influence has extended throughout our history. Though theological forms have changed, the sense of individual commitment has remained to influence our whole development. Max Lerner of Brandeis University pointed out the existence of polar strains within the Christian doctrine which have made it compatible with both antidemocratic and democratic movements. Less depends on the doctrine itself than on the pressures of the surrounding intellectual and social forces. In our era, he said, the great dangers to American democracy are conformism of mind and standardization of character. The great counterforce to these tendencies is the tradition of American religious nonconformism. To those who believe that the Christian metaphysic has made American democracy possible and held it together, Mr. Lerner entered a qualification. It is the dissenting pluralist tradition in religion rather than the religious orientation as such, which has been most strongly linked with American democracy.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was devoted to a discussion of "The Historical Work of Douglas Southall Freeman." It was presided over by Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University discussed "Freeman on Lee." He thought that Dr. Freeman showed great skill in handling military documents and a keen sense of fairness and honesty but that he, like Lee, looked upon the war as primarily a Virginia affair. Furthermore, he consciously but mistakenly failed to take account of the movements of the Union armies and was, in general, too worshipful of Lee. Curtis P. Nettels of Cornell University discussed "Freeman on Washington." He was especially concerned about the fact that this work was undertaken at the instance of certain foundations which selected the author and subsidized the project. He did not think that such foundations were competent to make decisions on matters pertaining to history, and he considered the selection of Dr. Freeman an unfortunate choice. Granting his ability as a military historian, Mr. Nettels argued that he was not well grounded in the political history of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary years and that Washington's contribution to the history of this country was primarily political. The point was made from the floor that the foundations had consulted certain historians before selecting Dr. Freeman to write the life of Washington.

Two aspects of Southern reconstruction were considered at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association. Francis B. Simkins of Longwood College served as chairman. Roger W. Shugg of the Rutgers University Press discussed "The Liberal Ideology and Reconstruction." He explained events in the South during the ten years after the Civil War as seen by the editor of *The Nation*, Edwin L. Godkin. He said that this famous

publicist accepted at first the Radical prescription for the Southern problem but soon changed his mind as the process of Radical Reconstruction unfolded. Godkin did this to such a degree as to view with satisfaction the triumph of the Southern Conservatives. Otis A. Singletary of the Naval R.O.T.C. of Princeton University had for his subject "The Role of the Negro Militia in Radical Reconstruction." Lieutenant Singletary said that Negro militias were organized in several Southern states to give protection to the Radical regimes against the violence of the Southern whites, but were unable to stand up against the opposition of the Southern whites and vanished along with other aspects of Negro democracy. In commenting on Mr. Singletary's paper, Vernon L. Wharton of Texas State College for Women expressed the belief that the horrors of Radical Reconstruction have been over-emphasized and that the Negroes of the South did not have the strength to maintain their constitutional rights.

The luncheon meeting of the American Society of Church History was held at the Blackstone Hotel, with Carl Schneider of Eden Theological Society presiding. Sidney E. Mead of the University of Chicago gave the presidential address, "Abraham Lincoln's Last, Best Hope of Earth: The American Dream of Destiny and Democracy." It will be published in the March, 1954, issue of *Church History*.

The social ideas of five American historians were presented at a general session with well over a hundred in attendance. Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University acted as chairman. William Jordy of Yale University spoke on "The Social Ideas of the Three Adams Brothers," and pointed out that Charles Francis, Henry, and Brooks shared certain ideas in common concerning intelligent social reform. They stressed the relation of present problems to historical trends determined by "scientific" procedures derived from both German institutionalists and Comtean positivists. However, events cheated the brothers of the reform roles that they had set for themselves, though Henry came closest to the active advocacy of social change. Wilbur R. Jacobs of the University of California, Santa Barbara, dealt with "The Social Ideas of Francis Parkman." While Parkman was the conservative type of nineteenth-century liberal, ready to support civil service reform, free trade, and Social Darwinism, he showed basic antidemocratic, anti-Indian, and anticlerical views. He opposed manhood and woman suffrage, prohibition, and pacifism. Certain of his intolerant views on social questions seem attributable to a distinct pattern of neurosis.

Bert James Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College discussed "The Social Ideas of the Scientific School: John William Burgess." Burgess thought of the state as the anchor of social stability but rejected majority rule democracy and political parties. The general welfare would be preserved by a wise race of philosopher kings. He idolized the Teutons as the great state builders and carriers of civilization, but he condemned the immigrant cultural invasion from southern and eastern Europe. However, the so-called "scientific school" of which Burgess was a member, did not share the same social views, though they agreed on the

creation of a tradition of scholarship, a philosophy of education, and a method of research. The discussion centered upon certain definitions of ideas used by the speakers. Most interesting was the hypothesis raised by Wallace Davies of the University of Pennsylvania. He raised the question whether, considering the social origins of such nineteenth-century historians as the Adamses, Parkman, and Burgess, the advance in economic progressivism is due to the change to a humbler social origin among present-day historians. Professor Loewenberg doubted that we have evidence to prove that historians have grown more progressive or that they have moved faster than their times. The chairman suggested that it might not be irrelevant to take a ballot among members of the session as to whether they had voted for Eisenhower or Stevenson in 1952. The ballot showed sixty for Stevenson, nineteen for Eisenhower, three for "socialist candidates," and the remainder blank.

War as a continuation of politics was the theme of the joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the American Military Institute. Brigadier General Lawrence H. Whiting, vice-president of the Institute, presided and Colonel Vincent Joseph Esposito of the United States Military Academy was the speaker.

Papers by Fred H. Harrington of the University of Wisconsin, on "The American Retreat from Asia, 1910-1920" and Herbert Feis of the Institute for Advanced Study, "Some Notes on Europe and Asia in American Foreign Policy, 1933-1945" inaugurated a lively session on the rival attractions of Europe and the Far East as fields for the display of American economic, military, and diplomatic energies. L. Ethan Ellis of the University of Rochester moderated the session. The first paper traced American experiments with a vigorous Far Eastern program launched in the 1890's and continuing under various auspices until the eve of the First World War. Diplomatic setbacks and Japan's rising vigor discouraged further aggressive activity in the area, and the war and postwar periods turned American diplomatic and economic interests toward Europe as a nearer and more likely area of opportunity. The result was several decades of Europe-first, during which Far Eastern affairs received less than their deserved share of attention. The second paper traced policy developments in which, despite a frame of reference according military priority to Europe, the United States attempted at the wartime conferences to assure China's present and future position as a Great Power; unfortunately, comparable steps were not taken to implement her physical power potential. The political decisions, taken in the belief that time and continued Russian co-operation would make possible their realization, were vitiated by the early fall of Japan, prompt American demobilization, and Russian recalcitrance; thus "leaving China low on the list" materially, as compared to Europe, contributed in an unforeseen fashion to the defeat of American hopes of a strong postwar China.

A spirited discussion was launched by William L. Neumann of the University

of Maryland, who agreed with Harrington's comment on decreased American economic interest in the Far East in the decade after 1910 but contended that strategic concern, on the other hand, mounted rather than declined, because of commitment to defense of the Philippines and desire to maintain the political integrity of China. Commenting on the Roosevelt period, he asserted that confused evaluation of competing urgencies in Europe and the Far East, with consequent award of priority to the former, opened the way for Russia to fill the power vacuum in the latter area. Thomas H. LeDuc of Oberlin College agreed generally with the Harrington analysis but suggested that a practical working alliance with Britain, Japan's ally, minimized the possibility of an American Far Eastern policy strongly hostile to Japan. He contended vigorously that Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy was a failure and that, contrary to the Feis contention, such failure was not only foreseeable but was in fact foreseen.

At a session on "The Military Threat to the United States, 1939-41," at which Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri presided, Stetson Conn, of the Department of the Army, discussed the threats present in the German military policies of the period, his material being drawn from the surviving German records and postwar interrogations. These reveal that Nazi plans, as contrasted with Hitler's probable intentions, went little beyond the domination of Europe and the destruction of the British Empire. While the United States was seen as an obstacle to these, its military ability to intervene was believed to be potential rather than actual. This led to a hope in Hitler's mind that a careful German policy would keep the United States from effective intervention until the more immediate obstacles, Britain and the U.S.S.R., had been eliminated. Louis Morton, also of the Department of the Army, presented the Japanese plans from sources parallel to those used by Mr. Conn. He showed that these aims were to hold at least the areas held in China and to move south and secure control of the immense oil resources of Southeast Asia. The struggle over policy within the Japanese government was presented in detail showing that the 1941 decision to move against the French, British, and Dutch areas was accompanied by a hope of conciliating the United States. This hope was virtually ended by the economic actions of the United States in retaliation for Japan's attack on Indochina. After that the Japanese policy became one of preventing the United States fleet from interfering with its conquest of the Dutch and British possessions. Its plan was that with these resources at its disposal, Japan could develop a defense in depth which it could defend indefinitely. Both speakers pointed out the lack of any co-ordination of German and Japanese plans.

Comment on these papers was offered by Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University. The fact that in 1941 neither Germany nor Japan had worked out plans for attacking the mainland of the United States, directly or indirectly, he said, is no guarantee that the Axis powers would not have perfected such plans later. The apathy and relative impotence of the United States encouraged the aggressions

of the Axis powers. If we had turned a more substantial fraction of our potential power into actual power before 1939, and had coupled it with a strong foreign policy, we could have controlled events more successfully in our own interest.

Two sessions were devoted to the resources and research facilities and opportunities of certain archives and special collections. At the luncheon session of the Society of American Archivists, Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, discussed "The National Archives at Age 20." William D. McCain, director of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History presided, and there were thirty-six in attendance. Dr. Grover spoke of the national organization that has been established since 1950 to deal with the large increase of federal records in the past two decades. This organization includes eleven federal records centers located throughout the United States. The National Archives meantime has accessioned nearly all the valuable older records of the government and is now concentrating on the improvement of its bibliographical controls. Staff has been increased since the war and, while much of the additional personnel has been absorbed by the growing reference workload, good progress is being made. Reference services more than doubled in the decade 1943-1953. To make sure that all new recruits meet the desired minimum standards, a formal in-service training program in archival administration has been instituted. In conclusion, he said that the best foundation for an archivist is still the study of American history and government.

The round table on "Special Collections for the Study of Recent History," chaired by G. Bernard Noble of the Department of State, undertook to appraise the major special research resources in the United States covering the era of World Wars I and II. C. Easton Rothwell, director of the Hoover Institute and Library, analyzed the holdings of that institution. Since their origin in the Hoover War Collection, beginning immediately after World War I, these holdings have now become a comprehensive collection on war, revolution, and peace. Originally they were primarily European in character, but World War II made it clear that the problems of war, revolution, and peace must be studied in a world setting. The major blocs of materials today are those on western and central Europe, Russia and other Slavic countries, China, and Japan. Those on Turkey and the Arab countries approach major proportions. Smaller and unique bodies of material relate to South and Southeast Asia, Persia, and Africa, and revolutionary movements in the principal Latin-American countries. The materials cover chiefly the social sciences and lie primarily in the twentieth century. Emphasis has been placed on area collections which lend themselves to comparative study, and primary sources predominate, with necessary reference tools and monographs. Under the auspices of the Hoover Institute, which is closely related to the Library, much research is undertaken, on an individual as well as on a group basis, and materials are available for significant studies in many fields. The resources of the Hoover Institute and Library, with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation, are now being rapidly processed so that they will all be ready for use in three years.

The holdings of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, and policies regarding their use were analyzed by Herman Kahn, director of the Library. Dr. Kahn explained that the papers, by virtue of the Roosevelt will, are the property of the federal government, administered by the National Archives. Nevertheless, legally, they remain personal papers, rather than official archives. These papers are an important source of information on almost every aspect of the general background and history of World War II, though they can seldom be regarded as the sole or chief source. They are especially valuable for the diplomatic record, because of the President's tendency to be his own Secretary of State. Steps are being taken to declassify the Map Room files, containing high-level correspondence on the conduct of the war, 1942-1945. In pointing out that the great bulk of the Roosevelt papers are freely open to qualified researchers so soon after Mr. Roosevelt's death, Mr. Kahn warned against the presumption that all the confidential records of a responsible statesman could be made public property within a period of several months or several years. Other important papers in the Roosevelt Library include those of Harry Hopkins, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Ambassador John G. Winant. These are still subject to certain restrictions as to their use.

Fritz Epstein of the Library of Congress explained the research resources of foreign origin, relating to World War II, in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the Departmental Records Branch of the Army. He called attention to the *Guide to Captured German Documents*, published by the War Documentation Project in Alexandria, Virginia, in the spring of 1953, which provides an invaluable survey of this captured documentation in various research centers in Washington and elsewhere. He noted that recently, by administrative declassification actions, the Army had removed the restrictions on some 5,000 to 6,000 linear feet of captured German materials in the Departmental Records Branch in Alexandria. These include documents of the High Command of the Armed Forces, records of Reich Ministries, records of the National Socialist party, and miscellaneous record groups of political and cultural significance. Important holdings of the Library of Congress include the so-called Himmler files, the files of Captain Wiedemann, the archives of the Deutsches Auslands-Institut, and parts of the main archives of the National Socialist party, the Von Rohden collection of German air documents, on the basis of which the history of the German air force during World War II can be written, the photographs of the so-called "Führerprojekt" which aimed at photographing all immovable works of art in Germany that might be endangered by aerial warfare, the photo-archives of Field Marshal Göring, records of the trials of war criminals in Germany, Japan, and Finland, and microfilms of the records of the Japanese ministry of foreign affairs. The holdings of the National Archives include microfilms of the German foreign ministry records for the First World War and the peace conference period, microfilms of the Stresemann papers, and records of the Japanese war and navy ministries.

Donald McKay of Harvard University called attention to the need for co-

operation among the various research centers and the importance of avoiding duplication as much as possible. Paul Sweet of the Department of State referred to the fragmentation of great collections and stressed the need to supplement the inventories of Dr. Epstein with similar inventories in Germany and elsewhere.

Two sessions dealt with local history. At the joint session of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies, Philip D. Jordan of the University of Minnesota discussed "The Value of Local History to Broader Historical Study," and Ralph Adams Brown of State Teachers College, Cortland, New York, "The Importance of Local History in the School Program." John Haefner of State University of Iowa acted as chairman. The proper function of local history, Mr. Jordan emphasized, is not to supplement English or a social study, but to interpret and impart the historical heritage. In dealing with local data, pupils come face to face with sources of historical information and thus have an opportunity to evaluate evidence. Public school teachers seldom have the facilities for research in those areas with which the university professor is most concerned, nor the time for extensive research. The data of local history, however, are always available and research can be so limited in scope that it can be fitted into a busy schedule.

The subject for the second session was "Training in Local History." It was a joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the American Association for State and Local History, presided over by Mrs. Herbert Gambrell, director of the Dallas Historical Society. The panel members were Albert B. Corey, Historian of the State of New York; S. K. Stevens, Historian of the State of Pennsylvania, and Clifford L. Lord, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Dr. Corey, speaking on "Training Local Historians in New York State," described three annual activities: the one-day institutes, held in several centers so placed as to draw local historians from surrounding areas; the convention of the Association of Towns in New York State which devotes a portion of its program to subjects of interest to local historians; and the seminars in American culture, held annually at Cooperstown by the New York State Historical Association. Dr. Stevens next described "Pennsylvania's Program." He pointed out that the state does not have a highly organized or formal program. Since neither the Historical Society of Pennsylvania nor the Pennsylvania Historical Association makes an attempt to work with local societies or historians, it has fallen to the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, in close relation with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, to co-operate with the local societies. In addition, the commission offers help in organizing societies. Dr. Lord presented "The Program in Wisconsin," where the state society takes a leading part in the local history program. At the professional level, the state society presents, through the University of Wisconsin, four credit courses on training for historical society work which are accepted as a minor for the Ph.D. degree in American history.

In addition to sessions which were mainly concerned with political, social,

intellectual, or religious history, were the sessions on agricultural, entrepreneurial, and business history. The Agricultural History Society held both a joint session with the American Historical Association and a luncheon conference. Well over seventy people attended the joint session at which Herbert A. Kellar of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin presided. Devoted to a consideration of the plantation system, the papers and the discussion comprised a survey of this field. Paul S. Taylor of the University of California, Berkeley, discussed "Plantation Labor Systems of North America, Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries." Albert V. House of Harpur College, State University of New York, in a paper on "Labor Management Problems on Georgia Rice Plantations, 1840-1860," pointed out the similarity between the problems there and those which confront owner-managers of small industrial enterprises today. He concluded that Georgia rice planters performed their managerial functions effectively. He warned students of Southern plantations not to allow the obvious human and moral shortcomings of the *slavery system* to blind them to the satisfactory economic productivity of *slave labor* under efficient planter management. Bennett H. Wall of the University of Kentucky read a paper entitled "An Appraisal of the Value of Plantation Labor in the Ante Bellum South," and Karl J. Pelzer one on "The History of Plantation Labor in Southeast Asia." Edwin A. Davis of Louisiana State University commented on the papers.

At the luncheon conference of the Agricultural History Society, Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois presided in the place of Colonel Edward N. Wentworth of Armour's Livestock Bureau, who was unable to attend because of illness. The luncheon speaker was Hubert G. Schmidt of the Newark College Branch of Rutgers University, who read a paper on "Postwar Trends in West German Agriculture." Mr. Schmidt, until recently an official agricultural adviser to West Germany, stated that during the first years following the end of World War II the farmers in that region were chiefly concerned to re-establish agriculture to its best status under the Nazi regime. This they had succeeded in doing by 1950. Since then production has risen considerably above that of the years of Nazi control. He contrasted farming conditions in West Germany with the much less favorable conditions prevailing in East Germany.

For the first time in the history of the December meetings a session was held on entrepreneurial history. As chairman, Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania explained that the conventional limitation of business history to the study of individual men or companies had led to the use of entrepreneurial to indicate a broad interest in business in relation to social and economic change. Fritz Redlich of the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University in "The European Aristocrat as Business Leader in Sixteenth-Century Germany," demonstrated by case histories that many sixteenth-century German aristocrats had been active businessmen. From the chamberlains and other high officials of royal or noble courts to peasants and serfs there was a range of business

activities that have been neglected by historians. German mining and metallurgy in particular were dominated by powerful noblemen. Dr. Redlich called Duke Julius von Braunschweig, who developed chemical manufacturing from the ideas of the alchemists, "one of the greatest business geniuses of all times." Rondo E. Cameron of the University of Wisconsin agreed with Dr. Redlich's ideas and produced further examples of entrepreneurial activity by important aristocrats.

Even in America, where aristocratic privilege was largely absent, Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University in "Kinship and Trade in Seventeenth-Century New England," found family ties the basis for major business ventures. Members of British mercantile families who came to the colonies established the early trade relations with the mother country. While a diligent and fortunate operator might rise to wealth within a generation and be accepted socially, the tendency was to keep the mercantile ranks closely integrated through intermarriage and the employment of relatives. Clarence L. Ver Steeg of Northwestern University charged Dr. Bailyn with somewhat exaggerating the role of kinship in seventeenth-century business. Dr. Ver Steeg believed that what appeared to be a deliberate policy of marriage for business reasons and of dealing largely through relatives may have been the chance result of the small number of people involved in these early operations.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Business Historical Society was devoted to a discussion of the "Techniques and Significance of Business History." The chairman was William Woodruff of the University of Illinois. O. A. Smalley and Kenneth Myers of Northwestern University read papers dealing with the organization and production of business histories, and Richard Wohl of the University of Chicago dealt, in his paper, with the significance of what he called "this young discipline." While Mr. Smalley addressed himself to the motives and problems bound up in the promotion and sponsorship of business histories—particularly as regards the contractual relationship of scholar and company management, and the possible role of the university as trustee, Mr. Myers was concerned in outlining what he considered to be the most satisfactory methods of staffing and executing a business history project. In dealing with significance rather than methodology Mr. Wohl in a closely reasoned paper indicated the valuable results achieved through the detailed investigation of business records; although the emphasis he placed on the study of business history as an independent branch of knowledge was qualified by describing it as an isthmus rather than a self-contained island.

Some of the most penetrating comments raised on these papers in the discussion which followed came from Messrs. Redlich, Hidy, Overton, and Williamson. In particular the discussion centered on a problem which is not unfamiliar to workers in other branches of the historical field, namely, how best can the business historian find the mean between, on the one hand, the austere work—shorn of synthesis and generalizations—expressing everything in terms of quantities, and

on the other hand (to quote Smalley), "an amorphous mass of related experience lacking both form and dimension."

VI

Three sessions and a luncheon meeting were devoted to Latin America and one session each to Asia and Africa. Some eighty Latin-Americanists gathered for the twenty-fifth annual luncheon meeting of the Conference on Latin-American History. Alexander Marchant of Vanderbilt University, chairman of the conference, presided. Manoel S. Cardozo of the Catholic University of America addressed the gathering on the topic "The Archives of the Açores and Portugal." Recounting a summer's trip to those areas, Professor Cardozo, in a humorous yet instructive manner, spoke on the Brazilian holdings in the mother country's repositories. He stressed the importance of the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo for Brazilianists and urged a careful study of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, the military archive in Lisbon, and various provincial archives. One might well draw the conclusion that colonial Brazilian history is yet to be written from the documentary approach.

At the joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference on Latin-American History, Lawrence F. Hill of Ohio State University presided, in the absence of James F. King of the University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Hill introduced Richard M. Morse of Columbia University, who, in a fine prose style, spoke on "São Paulo—A Cultural Interpretation." He presented a synoptic view of the development of São Paulo in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through a selective examination of the city's cultural development. Special attention was paid to the mid-nineteenth-century romanticist movement and to the *modernista* movement that was inaugurated by the *Semana de Arte Moderna* in 1922. The central theme was that these two movements were informed by "states of spirit" rather than "bodies of dogma." They therefore exhibit fuller, more suggestive expressions of the problems, intricacies, and potentialities of the urban order that emerged in agrarian Brazil; and of characteristics that uniquely pertain to the history of São Paulo city itself.

John Culver of the Case Institute of Technology read and later defended in part the presentation of Jordan Young of Princeton University, "A Re-evaluation of the 1932 São Paulo Revolution." In the past, Mr. Young contended, the revolt has been viewed as a liberal effort to break the dictatorial power of Getulio Vargas and as an attempt to establish a free and independent state of São Paulo. In actuality it was designed to restore the status quo ante 1930. In fact it did hasten the calling of a national assembly, speed the industrialization of the state, increase the number of registered voters in Brazil, and create a new political climate in the *paulista* state which resulted in the election of Vargas as senator in 1945 and procured for him the state's backing in the presidential election of

1950. The effects of the 1932 revolt, therefore, proved the means by which São Paulo resecured its position of political leadership in Brazil.

The session on "Spanish Institutions Overseas," presided over by Lewis Hanke of the University of Texas provided an opportunity to examine both the theory and the practice of Spain's colonial effort in America. Carlos E. Castañeda of the University of Texas emphasized the importance of the medieval heritage in his paper on "Spanish Medieval Institutions in Overseas Administration" which, because of his illness, was read by Cecil E. Johnson, also of the University of Texas. Professor Castañeda maintained that this heritage could be fully understood only by examining the customs and laws of the Spanish monarchy from the reconquest to the discovery of the New World. The institutions transplanted to America, their development and the reasons for their shortcomings, must be viewed in the light of certain basic, medieval concepts such as the dignity of man and the missionary obligations of the monarchs. These Christian ideals of the Middle Ages explain, Mr. Castañeda felt, the unending struggle of the crown and the church to convert and civilize the Indians.

Philip W. Powell of the University of California, Santa Barbara, described a part of this policy as it was being put into practice in his paper "Crystallizing Frontier Institutions: Northern Mexico in 1600." Professor Powell treated the Chichimeca frontier and demonstrated how the process of transplanting and adopting Spanish institutions actually put into operation overseas the basically benevolent Christianizing and Castilianizing aims of Spain. The work of Captains Miguel Caldera and Juan Morlete in pacifying the Indians by kind treatment, gifts, and education, demonstrated that the military mind was flexible and desirous of using humane methods when possible. The opening scenes of North American frontier history, concluded Mr. Powell, "were not dominated by policies of vengeful 'sword in hand' extinction or removal of tribes to make way for an arrogant civilization out of Europe. They were scenes of generally humane and intelligent integration of high and low cultures—and the scenes lived on in the Spanish New World mind."

Bailey W. Diffie of the City College of New York addressed himself to Professor Castañeda's paper, which he felt was rather restricted because it omitted discussion of the political, economic, fiscal, commercial, technical, social, and cultural institutions in Spanish expansion overseas. Mr. Diffie challenged the assumption that the spiritual values transplanted by Spain to America were unique to that country or even to the Roman Catholic religion. Mr. Diffie concluded by stating that the idealization of the conquest was hard to reconcile with the facts.

Donald W. Rowland of the University of Southern California limited his remarks to Professor Powell's paper. He agreed that a royal policy of protecting the Indians existed but that it was not particularly effective when delegated to local leaders on far-flung frontiers. He wondered whether the peaceful and per-

suasive policy adopted by the military against the Chichimecas was not due to the successful resistance of these Indians to the warlike methods of the Spaniards. The peaceful method plus gifts was abandoned in the early part of the seventeenth century for military campaigns, probably because of a lack of ready cash and increasing friction between the church and the military.

Charles J. Bishko of the University of Virginia discussed both papers. He was troubled by Professor Castañeda's use of the term "medieval" as virtually a synonym for "spiritual," "idealistic," and even "Christian." All Spanish sovereigns regarded it as their Christian duty to convert and protect the aborigines, but how to do this was by no means clear. It might be contended, observed Professor Bishko, "that what was most medieval in the Indies was not so much royal policy as the original, ephemeral but more typically medieval resurgence of a turbulent nobility, a quasi-manorial agriculture, a largely monasticized church, municipal liberties, and dynamic frontier expansionism." Turning to Mr. Powell's paper, Professor Bishko remarked that it showed that the Spaniard brought not only his historic institutions to the New World but also that same pragmatic flexibility in responding to new conditions, that same institutional inventiveness so often displayed by his ancestors in the long succession of varying types of frontier from Covadonga to Tenerife. He questioned whether Professor Powell had allowed sufficiently for the Hispanizing and pacifying effect of other influences moving into the Chichimeca country—the *real de minas*, the frontier town, the Indian trader, the land grant system, and stockraising. The exigencies of a semi-arid climate as well as Indian nomadism must be kept in mind, too, in interpreting Spanish advance northward, and Franciscan influence as well as the difficulties of combatting mounted Indians must be considered in the development of the peaceful policy toward the Indians.

The joint session with the Lexington Group was devoted to a consideration of "Brazilian Railways: Past, Present, and Future." In general the speakers took the position that their subject matter constituted history-in-the-making, and sought to correlate their findings not only with the more general trends of Brazilian economic history but also with parallel developments in the long history of American railroading. J. Fred Rippy of the University of Chicago opened the program with a brief sketch of the economic and social background of Brazil's railway problem. Mr. William S. Kerr, executive assistant, Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad, and a consultant to the Joint Brazil-United States Commission, then addressed himself to the major task of summarizing and interpreting the findings of that commission, and integrating recent developments with the long-time economic trends in Brazil. Mr. Ralph Budd, chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority and chief consultant to the Joint Brazil-United States Commission, concluded the formal part of the program with an interpretive commentary on the situation as a whole. Since there were representatives of some forty different universities and ten different railway companies among the eighty present, dis-

cussion was prolonged and lively. Comparisons and contrasts between Brazil and the United States, and even with Russia, were emphasized and considered. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Professor Stanley Berge of Northwestern University, who was to have served as chairman, Richard C. Overton, of the same institution and secretary of the Lexington Group, acted in his place.

Nationalism in Asia was the topic of a session presided over by Woodbridge Bingham of the University of California, Berkeley. About eighty persons attended. Richard Cottam of Harvard University discussed "The Origins of Negativism in Iranian Nationalism." The negative anti-British sentiment of the Iranians, he explained, goes back to the events of 1906 and following years. In 1906 Iranian nationalists were successful in revolting against the old regime. They were admirers of British liberalism and believed that they would have the backing of the British. However, the efforts of the nationalist-minded merchants, intelligentsia, and liberal religious leaders appeared to both British and Russians as a threat to the great power balance in Iran. The division of Iran into two spheres of influence, by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, came as a great shock to Iranian nationalists. Hilary Conroy of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on "Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism." He pointed out that Japanese nationalism is a modern political manifestation, beginning in the 1880's. Although there was much of popular nationalism (*minzoku shugi*) and liberal nationalism (*kokumin shugi*) in the earlier development of "liberal" nationalism it inevitably lost its liberalism and became identified with official nationalism, known in Japan as integral or state nationalism (*kokka shugi*). Nationalist elements of all varieties and coloration, disagreeing on almost everything else, could and did, time after time, find an area of agreement which could be translated into action in expansionism. "In Nationalist Objectives in Modern India," Robert I. Crane of the University of Chicago showed how in India the agitation for political independence from the British was linked to a program of social and economic reform.

Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin presided at a session on "The Awakening of Africa." Colin R. Lovell of the University of Southern California, in "Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid," sketched the historical background for the present policy of *apartheid* applied by the government of the Union of South Africa. He showed how it originated in a clash between the frontiersmen of European settlements and the Bantu peoples. The early European settlers adopted slavery and refused to recognize the equal rights of non-Europeans with Europeans. When, after the British had assumed control over the Cape colony, efforts were made to protect the interests of non-Europeans and to restrict the spread of European settlements, and, when slavery was abolished, about 12,000 Boers emigrated and established their own states in the interior. This widened the field of conflict between Europeans and non-Europeans. At the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa, defenders of the rights of non-Europeans tried to make it possible to safeguard their rights and to extend the voting privileges which

they had in the Cape colony to the other provinces of the Union. In this they were defeated. After the present government under Dr. Malan came into power, strenuous attempts were made to prevent the mingling of the races, to reduce the political power of the non-Europeans, and to segregate them from the Europeans.

Garland G. Parker of the University of Cincinnati in a paper on "British Land Policies and Native Unrest in East Africa," discussed the land problem as the background for the present trouble which the British authorities in the Kenya colony have with the Mau Mau. Only in the Kenya colony is there a fairly large European element in the population, which holds a considerable amount of the best land in the colony. In Uganda a native landlord caste was established in one province, but otherwise the effort was made to create small peasant holdings. In Tanganyika the rights of Africans have been carefully safeguarded and no serious land pressure problem exists in this territory. The same is true in Zanzibar. In Kenya the general aim has been to protect the Africans, but in this colony a European landlord class has acquired much political influence and the natives have increased to such an extent that land pressure has arisen and this economic factor has been important in creating unrest. Mr. Parker emphasized that the natives of East Africa need the aid, advice, and guidance of the British; but that on the other hand the British cannot achieve much without the support of the Africans. Local African leaders have lost sight of the need for co-operation. They are restive and impatient.

Arthur N. Cook of Temple University, in discussing the topic "Self-Government in British West Africa" called attention to the fact that the appointment of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as "Leader of Government Business" in the Gold Coast in February, 1951, made him a symbol to all Africans, white as well as black, of a sweeping Negro victory. Mr. Cook sketched briefly the life and training of this remarkable Negro leader and of his conflict with the British authorities which resulted in the grant of self-government to the Gold Coast. Mr. Cook also related the story of the growth of self-government in Nigeria and how the effort at establishing it has been hampered by the fact that present-day Nigeria was created to suit the convenience of Britain and France and that within Nigeria there are sharp racial and religious divisions.

In commenting on the papers, Harry Rudin of Yale University called attention to the complexity of the problems presented by present-day Africa. Reginald Barrett, liaison officer for Nigeria, Washington, D.C., elaborated on the nature of the constitutional issues now being discussed in Nigeria.

VII

Under the title "Studies in Historiography" Shepard B. Clough summarized the forthcoming report of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Historiography, which is scheduled to bear the title "The Social Science Approach to History." The summary of the report and the discussion that followed indi-

cated that the committee conceives of the social science approach as the use, where relevant and helpful, of the procedures used in the social sciences to arrive at truth and understanding. These include the deliberate use of theory, concept, operational working hypotheses, cumulative analysis, and other steps in rational operations. A proposed chapter on a summary of the social science theories that might be useful to historians has become, according to Mr. Clough, a survey of the social sciences with an emphasis on the most promising areas of development so far as the historian is concerned. The report also includes a chapter discussing some of the concrete studies that should result from an application of the social science approach to history.

W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington presented a thoughtful criticism of the report. He emphasized the point that the social science approach to history, as the committee conceives it, is only one approach, and a limited one; that there is a danger that such an approach, if carried too far, might, in reducing "mass phenomena" to a decimal point, dehumanize historical study and deprive it of the essential human and poetic qualities in the life of man which the historian should reflect. Mr. Holt also felt that the report in its present state makes too wide a use of technical and abstract terms. In his view, the valuable section dealing with concrete studies in which the social science approach might result was insufficiently specific in character.

R. R. Palmer of Princeton University found much in the report with which he was in agreement. While welcoming the social science approach to history, he doubted whether history could or should become a social science because, in his view, history in the last analysis, elucidates concrete situations which are characterized, if not by accident, by a high degree of disproportion between cause and effect. This he illustrated with examples.

Thomas Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania, the current chairman of the S.S.R.C. committee on historiography, replied to some of the criticisms of the report and amplified and clarified points about which there seemed to have been some misunderstanding. Professor Clough also replied to some of the criticisms. There was an interesting discussion from the floor, which seemed to promise a wide interest in the committee's report when it is available. Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin, who was chairman of the session, provided some background for the current committee's work and suggested that the report and the discussion obviously pointed to the need for the continuing active exploration by historians of the relations of their discipline to the social sciences.

On Tuesday morning approximately one hundred members of the convention turned their attention from the substantive questions which make up the bulk of an A.H.A. program to consider certain problems of teaching and testing. Specifically, the purpose of the session on "Testing Procedures" was to indicate some of the newer developments in the field of objective testing and to point out the utility, as well as the limitations, of these techniques. David Owen of Harvard University served as chairman. Harry Berg of Michigan State College, discussing

the problem of "Testing for Thought and Understanding in History," sought to show that the soundly devised objective examination could be used to test for outcomes other than a command of factual detail. He argued, moreover, that the conventional distinction between "fact" and "interpretation" or "analysis" was only partly valid, since with many items on an objective test the correct response can be arrived at either by recalling what has been previously memorized or by a process of reasoning. The problems of testing in general education courses in history and the social sciences were surveyed by Paul L. Hanna of the University of Florida. He emphasized not only the value of well-constructed tests but also the pitfalls in which the unsophisticated tester may find himself trapped. He considered concrete questions of test-building, test-administration, scoring, and the like. Alice Felt Tyler of the University of Minnesota, a member of the committee of historians responsible for the new Graduate Record Examination, discussed testing at the advanced level. She explained the procedures followed in constructing the G.R.E.—the writing of items, the pretesting, the elaborate statistical checks employed by the Educational Testing Service, under whose auspices the test was developed. The commentator was Dr. William Coffman of the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J., who added some observations drawn from his experience as a technical expert in the field of evaluation and testing. The discussion, though lively, was more irenic than in many instances when "objective-type" enthusiasts confront champions of the "essay-type."

Some seventy-five members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association were present at the dinner meeting to hear Robert Taft, professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas, speak on "History and Pictures." Walter P. Webb of the University of Texas presided. Mr. Taft discussed the historian's use of pictures and illustrations, and the barriers, difficulties, and prejudices in their use. He called attention to the practice, a fairly common one, of using an illustration and crediting it "From a contemporary illustration, courtesy the Library of Congress" (or other institution) in contrast with the methods of citing the ordinary sources of information used by the historian. As an example of the neglect of the illustration as a source of information, he cited the fact that of 574 articles in the first 37 volumes of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* only one bears any direct relationship to picture study or use. An exhibit of 300 prints from the Pennell Collection of photographs in the Library of the University of Kansas was on display in connection with Professor Taft's address. The photographs record life in a small midwestern town (Junction City, Kansas) and at an army post (Fort Riley) in the period 1895-1909.

The Newberry Library gave a tea each afternoon in the Scholar's Lounge for the members of the Association. A special exhibit was arranged for the occasion, consisting of catalogues of private libraries before 1800. The exhibit comprised a valuable collection of little-used source materials of special significance for the cultural relations of countries.

The annual dinner meeting of the Association was held on Tuesday evening,

December 29, in the Grand Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton. There were 300 guests for dinner, and by the time the presidential address began the ends of the room and the balcony were comfortably filled. Dr. Stanley Pargellis, director of the Newberry Library and chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements opened the meeting and introduced the toastmaster. In the course of his remarks, Dr. Pargellis paid tribute to Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, former Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, for his many years' of devoted service to the Association. Mr. Laird Bell, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago, acted as toastmaster and presented the president of the Association, Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago. His address, "A Professor of History in a Quandary," was published in the January issue of the *Review*.

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the Association, announced the following prize winners. The Albert J. Beveridge Award of \$1000 and publication of manuscript went to George R. Bentley of the University of Florida for his manuscript, "A History of the Freedman's Bureau." Bradford Perkins of the University of California won honorable mention and publication of his manuscript, "The First Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1795-1805." The Carnegie Award was given to John F. Cady of Ohio University for the publication of his manuscript, "The Roots of French Imperialism in Eastern Asia." Russell H. Fifield of the Department of Political Science of the University of Michigan was awarded the George Louis Beer Prize for his volume, *Woodrow Wilson and the Far East* (Thomas Y. Crowell, 1952).

This account of the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association is based almost entirely on reports furnished by the chairmen of the sessions or by someone acting for them. Wherever possible the reports have been reproduced substantially as written. However, a number of the reports, often excellent, were too long, requiring cutting, summarizing, or the use of extracts. In a few instances, where a report was lacking or seemed to require supplementing; summaries of the papers, even copies of the papers, were used. Fortunately in only three cases was there a failure to receive a report of a session. To all those who furnished him the materials for this account, the program chairman wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness and express his appreciation. To those participants whose remarks have been omitted, too briefly mentioned, misquoted, or distorted, he wishes to express his regrets and offer his apologies. The pressure of time and the limitations of space and documentation have made it inevitable that many important points have been missed and the significance not always realized of the 109 papers comprising the 1953 program.

University of Michigan

HOWARD M. EHLMANN

The Year's Business, 1953

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1953

This is my first report as your Executive Secretary and as Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. Among my predecessors in one or the other of these positions have been J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew McLaughlin, Henry Bourne, Robert Livingston Schuyler, Herbert Baxter Adams, Charles Haskins, Waldo Leland, John Spencer Bassett, Dexter Perkins, Conyers Read, and Guy Stanton Ford. When I read this list I am almost reading a *Who Was Who* or a *Who's Who* of the American historical profession. I am both proud to follow these great men and humble when I realize how difficult it will be.

Guy Stanton Ford really should be before you reporting today, for he has carried on the work of our Association for the last twelve years, including two thirds of the year 1953. I shall have occasion to mention Guy Stanton Ford later. I should like to say here that I have put history to practical use in the last four months. Whenever I have pondered what should be done, when a decision had to be made concerning the *Review* or the Association, I have looked into the files of the Association left by Dr. Ford or, better still, I have called him on the telephone or he has come down from the Kennedy-Warren to Study Room 275 to talk. And I have found a reasonable and wise course already charted.

When I have said this I do not mean to say that I shall have no suggestions for our Association, that I shall follow precedent blindly. I mean to say that solid foundations have been laid, that wise policies have been established, that our Association and the *Review* are in good health. We, as historians, would be remiss if we did not project our future policies out of studies of our past, especially when this past has been populated with wise scholars of good will.

This past of ours, and here I must admit again to being a research historian in our Association papers, our office manuscripts and our printed reports, has been full of the same problems which face us now. As I read over the now voluminous series of *Annual Reports*, as I talked to Waldo Leland, Guy Stanton Ford, Solon Buck, and to Louis Gottschalk, among others, as I studied the committee reports of the past, I realized how deeply the members of our Association have felt their obligations, how vigorously they have tried to solve our problems. Every day I hear, and I want to hear, comments upon and criticisms of the policies of the Association and the *Review*. I can only usually reply, "Amen, we agree, what can we do?" and then add, "The Association, the Council, the Board of Editors, Mr. Jameson, or Mr. Ford considered that in 1895, or 1920, or 1940, or 1950, and the answer then was. . . . Do you think we should change?"

We do have continuing and persistent problems in the very nature of our professional and historical functions. In most cases these can be met—not solved; they are the recurring themes of our work. Short of heaven there will be no

culmination in a harmonious symphony where all the melodies are resolved.

What shall be our professional relation to public education and the teaching of history? Since 1896 when the committee of seven published a plan entitled *The Study of History in Schools*, the Association has appointed no less than nine committees to consider the problem. All these—the committee of seven, of five, of eight, the Krey committee, the committee on the teaching of American history—have had a profound, if immeasurable, influence upon American education. On Sunday the Council heard Dean Roy Nichols report for our present committee. Through this committee the Association has recently been instrumental in starting an interdisciplinary study under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. The committee has also recommended that the Association establish other committees on the teaching of history in schools and colleges, with a view to a wide and extended inquiry.

Publication of works of research by competent scholars has long been a major objective of our Association. Funds have never been sufficient, though we have not fared too badly in grants from individuals and from what are now called "tax-exempt foundations." I am happy to report for the Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee, headed by hardworking Professor Raymond P. Stearns of Illinois, that they will publish a volume out of what Professor Stearns has called an exceptional, if too short, list of submissions. The author and title will be announced at the dinner tonight. But the Carnegie Fund, starting at only \$25,000 is now down to about \$9,000 and royalties from the thirty-odd scholarly volumes it has published do not rival those of the latest sensational novel. We will either have to suspend grants for a while or obtain additional funds. The Beveridge Committee, whose efficient chairman has been Professor Dorothy Burne Goebel of Hunter College, will announce tonight an award and an honorable mention which will include cost of publication. During the year 1952-53 this committee has seen published the volume *Steam Power on the American Farm* by Reynold Wik, and ready for publication or in press are Glyndon Van Deusen's *Horace Greeley*, Robert Twyman's *History of the Marshall Field Company, 1865-1905*, Clarence Ver Steeg's *Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier*, and Harold Hyman's *Era of the Oath*. For the George Louis Beer Prize Professor Richard Leopold reports that only four volumes were submitted and he is not certain all of these meet the conditions of subject matter established for the prize. He is happy to report, however, that the prize will go to a volume of high merit. Our other prize committees do not make awards this year. These are the Herbert Baxter Adams, Lowell Ragatz of Ohio State, chairman; the John H. Dunning, David Potter of Yale, chairman; the Robert Livingston Schuyler, Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin, chairman; and the Watumull, Taraknath Das of Columbia, chairman. All these committees are active and will report progress when their time comes. For the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize we might suggest, as the Association has provided in the past, a small cash award. For research and publication, money is more than ever a necessary evil.

Among the persistent problems of these prize committees, as Professor Stearns submits, have been not only the small number of works submitted but also the bad form in which some of those in manuscript have been received. These have sometimes been untidy, badly typed, and heavily amended in longhand. The authors should realize, from experience with their own students if no other, the psychological advantage of presenting an acceptable draft.

One of our most valuable projects has been the publication of a series of legal historical volumes on early America by the Littleton-Griswold Fund. For two years this committee has worked without a chairman, a difficulty which we hope will soon be overcome. But its work has scarcely suffered. The volume on Virginia, Volume VII in the series, is in press and should appear soon.

For fifty years the Association has published the useful bibliographical volumes called *Writings on American History*. It would be no exaggeration to point out that for fifty years this series has been in constant financial crisis. The volume for 1948 has appeared, that for 1949 is in press, the compilation of the 1950 volume is complete. But history did not hold a high place in the mind of our last Congress; our appropriation in the budget of the Smithsonian Institution has been cut from \$15,000 to \$8,000. And, at the same time printing costs have tripled. The Government Printing Office gave us an estimate of \$11,500 upon our last projected volume. We ought to continue the series, fill the gap for 1941-46 occasioned by World War II, and shorten the period, now three years, between the time the listed items appear and the publication of our volume. At the moment the committee in charge, headed by Wood Gray of George Washington University, is considering some type of photographic duplication by a private printer, which will reduce the cost at least 50 per cent, but for this kind of reproduction we may not be able to use our Smithsonian appropriation. If we cannot, some kind of subsidy, perhaps à charge for the volumes, may be necessary.

One other important form of publication should be mentioned, that of documentary reproduction, the modern form of manuscript collection in which the Association has been deeply interested since 1885. Professor Erickson of Illinois reports a long list of papers and catalogues reproduced through the work of various American historians abroad. The committee has done yeoman work for which students of materials on American history abroad, as well as American students of Italian, Greek, British, French, and Russian history, will long be grateful. We should push this kind of reproduction, get funds for it.

Ever since Waldo Leland went to Paris in the days before World War I the Association has felt, though perhaps never enough, its international obligations. Our Association and our *Review* were inspired by German, English, and French models, and through the years we have gained at least as much from these, as well as from other national groups of historians, as we have contributed. This year our Committee on Honorary Members, of which Professor Shryock of Johns Hopkins has been chairman, has chosen Professor Georges Lefebvre, honorary

professor of the Sorbonne and authority on the French Revolution, to add to our list of fifteen illustrious foreign historians. Our co-operation has gone further. Our representative to the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Professor Donald McKay of Harvard, attended the annual meeting of the Bureau at Graz, Austria, in May and June, 1953, to help plan the program for the quinquennial Historical Congress at Rome in 1955. Dr. Waldo Leland, chairman of our International Relations Committee, has asked for increased participation of American scholars in the preparation for the Rome Congress and in all international activities, and that increased attention be given to these activities in the *Review*. We hope for the first, and can assure him of the second.

The Association has also long recognized scholarly obligations outside the specific fields of history in the United States. Its interests on the Social Science Research Council have been ably served by Dean Roy Nichols of Pennsylvania, Professor Gordon Craig of Princeton, and Professor Ray Billington of Northwestern. Dean Nichols headed a meeting of fourteen historians at Princeton, October 30-31, to discuss the needs of history, particularly in relation to fellowship programs and research grants. A Social Science Research Council committee on historiography has been completing a bulletin to supplement Bulletin 54. Professor Charles Taylor of Harvard, reporting as our delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, asks that our Association, along with others, print fuller information than we have upon the work of the A.C.L.S. This can be done. The belief is widespread that the foundations are putting more and more of their funds into support of the natural sciences. We certainly need more fellowships, more financial assistance for research in history. Our delegates to the S.S.R.C. and the A.C.L.S. report that considerable attention is being given to the needs of the humanities and social sciences. This is all to the good, but more should be done.

Our Association took its customary interest in the magazine *Social Education*. Our delegate, Robert Riegel of Dartmouth, reports as usual the hope that more historians will write more "subject material" articles for it. Actually, *Social Education* runs without much reference to the Association, except for a report on finances. Professor Thomas Cochran tells us that the chief event of the past year in the National Records Management Council was the election of a new president, Richard C. Overton of Northwestern. From the Committee on Renaissance Studies our delegate, Professor W. K. Ferguson of New York University, indicates the possibility of the establishment of a Renaissance Society of America and a learned journal in the field.

Back in 1920 the Association debated the time for the annual meeting, whether September or December, and its members have long argued for this or that place of meeting. The arguments are familiar. The holidays are difficult for travel, should be spent with the family; the holidays are our traditional meeting time and the only time not pre-empted at which high school teachers can come. Sep-

tember is too hot, and at the end of the vacation period no member of the Association has any money; September is better because more members, especially from the Pacific Coast, can come, and we can all drive our cars. Whatever the arguments, and they are long and undecided in all the professional associations, our membership voted this year 362 for December, 348 for September, with 115 noncommittal. This is, however, an exceedingly light vote and must indicate a certain amount of indifference.

Another perennial issue has been the establishment of a placement office at the American Historical Association headquarters. The business meeting of 1940 asked the Council to explore the possibility and establish one, if feasible. World War II ended the possibility by eliminating the feasibility. The problem is now being considered anew by the Executive Secretary, who has found considerable sentiment for it among Association members, and who has looked into the placement activities of other professional groups including those of the American Political Science Association. No elaborate scheme or organization is contemplated, but plans have been made for the establishment of a register of candidates for positions and of vacancies.

For several years, at least since 1947, the Association has contemplated the establishment of some kind of social security for its employees. We have proposed to the Council the inclusion of ours in the Federal Security program on the same basis as most employees now covered in the United States. This is the place to say that the Association is well served by four women in its office. Miss Patty Washington, who keeps our books and sends you your bills, started to work for the Association forty-five years ago. Without her we would be insolvent. Catharine Seybold, the assistant editor, took on this fall the almost impossible task of breaking in this new editor. Whether she has succeeded the next issue of the *Review* may give a clue.

The problems of the *Review* are likewise recurring and persistent. You may turn to the article titled "The American Historical Review" by J. Franklin Jameson in the *Review* of 1920, to the various reports of the committees on policy, to the reports of the editors, or to almost any corridor conversation of historians. The *Review* is too "austere" (never too popular); it has "too many articles" in American or in European history; it should review "fewer books," only the "major books," or "all the books" in history; it should have "shorter" or "longer" reviews; its reviews are "too laudatory," "too critical"; it should or should not "pay" for articles; the *Review* ought to be more "pastist," seeing history only *wie es eigentlich*, or more "presentist," devoting itself to explanation of the present by the past.

Into these endless but fruitful discussions I shall not go today. The *Review* presents austere fare you may say, as it was said when Jameson was editor, but we hope to continue to publish scholarly historical articles based upon new materials or containing significant reinterpretations of old, and to carry reviews

by competent authorities of all important works in the whole field of history. Our scope is vast, our sights world-wide. The *American Historical Review*, as befits the United States, is one of the few existing historical journals which attempt both to carry articles and to review books upon every significant historical subject.

For acceptable articles, Jameson and his associate editors set down the fundamental policies of the *Review* from the time of its founding in 1895 to Jameson's summing up in 1920:

The three criteria for contributions to the *Review* are: that they shall be fresh and original in treatment; that they shall be the result of accurate scholarship; and that they shall have distinct literary merit. Articles which fulfill these conditions will be welcomed in any field of history.

With these policies we agree heartily. We hope also that the literary style of our contributions will improve and to that end we will vigorously apply ourselves—not expecting the richness of Churchillian prose but striving toward clear and accurate statement of the human drama.

In reviewing books we will try to obtain all the significant books in history that publishers will send us. For the kind of reviews we desire, again we may use a statement of Jameson's:

It is desired that the review of a book shall be such as will convey to the reader a clear and comprehensive notion of its nature. . . . It is hoped that the reviewer will take pains . . . to apprehend the author's conception . . . of his book and to criticize it with due regard to its species and purpose. It should, however, be remembered that the review is intended for the information and assistance of readers. . . . Sympathy, courtesy . . . should not therefore withhold the reviewer from a straightforward expression of adverse judgment. . . .

To be certain that the *Review* knows of and can use competent young scholars, the editor recently sent over 100 letters to authorities in the various fields asking for recommendations of qualified young men. The response has been gratifying. More than 200 new names have been given us.

Finally, one further statement of policy for the *Review*, and once more we take our cue from Jameson. We will not "favor any particular school" or "sustain any doctrinal tendency." We will be "hospitable to every variety of historical thought"—orthodox or revisionist. In fact we will have "no 'policy' but, while maintaining high standards of method and scholarship, to be catholic in matters of opinion."

For the year 1952-53 under Dr. Ford's editorship the *Review* contained eleven articles (one in two parts) and six notes and suggestions. There were four articles in American history, four in early and modern Europe, one each in ancient history and international relations, and one on the philosophy of history, President Randall's "Historianship." The *Review* received 1,033 books during the year. Long reviews (over 400 words) were given 274 volumes, and short reviews (less than 400) to 160. Ninety-five articles were submitted; six were accepted. Since

September 1, twenty-eight additional articles have been received; of these, three have been accepted.

At the moment, for various reasons, the *Review* does not have a great stock of articles awaiting publication, only two issues in advance being provided for. The present editor, as other editors before him, feels the need not of a greater quantity but of a higher quality of articles. At times he is certain that the great need is not more opportunities for publication but better essays to publish.

From their origins the Association and the *Review* have met the recurring problems outlined above. These have been met in prosperity and depression, in peace and war. We have survived. We have survived because we have had freedom to think, to work, to make rational choices. Now we face a problem which, if not new in history, even in America, is as great as any men may meet: this is the problem of freedom of the mind. From the right and left fanatics press their views upon us, asking only that we suppress our own. The attack grows in intensity upon the intellectuals, the impractical professors. I, for one, see no need of hanging our heads. We, as historians, must be free to do research, think, write, teach, or we *shall not be* historians. And we have a contribution to make to our society if we are free, and *only* if we are free. Hence, we must not imitate our opponents, either past or potential. Here I stand on the firm ground of my predecessors. I said at the beginning that I would mention Guy Stanton Ford again. To me he is great not only as a historian but as a teacher and leader of free men. I can think of no better way of showing his awareness of the nature of the threats that face us than by quoting a few sentences from his 1949 report to this Association:

There is slight ground for fearing we will imitate the Soviet institutions and economy. There is a subtler danger that in the battle for men's minds we will unconsciously drift little by little into the sacrifice of those freedoms which forever distinguish democracy from either communism or fascism. Scholarship and teaching cannot remain free and immune if we oppose communism by a domestic brand of fascism.

If we remain free, we can show by the results of our historical scholarship one of the substantial ways men may profit when they enjoy freedom. If we are to remain free, if we are to continue to be good historians studying, writing, and teaching good history, we must actively support freedom at all times and in all places.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CONRAD HILTON HOTEL
CHICAGO, DECEMBER 27, 1953, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Louis Gottschalk, President; Merle Curti, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Thomas A. Bailey, Leo

Gershoy, Dexter Perkins, Joseph R. Strayer, Richard H. Shryock, Herbert Heaton, Edward C. Kirkland, Sidney Painter, Councilors; Robert L. Schuyler, Guy Stanton Ford, former Presidents.

President Gottschalk called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1952 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1953, issue of the *Review* (pp. 772-80).

The Executive Secretary remarked briefly on the condition of the Association's business.

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, reviewed the financial statement for the fiscal year 1952-53 which he later summarized at the business meeting. The total assets of the Association on August 31, 1953, amounted to \$502,362.43, of which \$269,226.56 is restricted (including \$67,660.61 invested for the Matteson Fund) and \$233,135.87 is unrestricted. The disbursements of unrestricted funds exceeded receipts by \$571.43; these disbursements, however, included an investment of \$10,000. The Andrew D. White Fund, for international historical activities, showed a balance of \$191.16. It was recommended that this fund be used to supplement the allotment for the International Committee of Historical Sciences and for other international purposes. Dr. Buck also recommended that the John H. Dunning Prize be increased from \$100 to \$140, beginning in 1954, to take advantage of monies accumulated for the prize. The balance on hand from the Rockefeller grant awarded for the use of the Committee on Historians and the Federal Government amounted to \$530.14, but this is available only until January 31, 1954. The Treasurer hence recommended that the Executive Secretary communicate with the Rockefeller Foundation concerning it. The Council approved the above suggestions and recommendations of the Treasurer. The Carnegie Revolving Fund decreased from \$11,000 to \$9,000, an expected and anticipated decrease because of publication. Dr. Buck summarized the special account for *Social Education* and stated that this fund is in good condition, showing a balance of \$2,565.95. In view of the relatively large amount of restricted funds on hand the Treasurer further suggested that the Finance Committee draw up a budget next year for the expenditure or investment of such funds in accordance with the terms under which such monies were received by the Association.

The Council authorized the Treasurer, at the discretion of the Finance Committee, to invest through the usual channels, as part of the invested funds of the Association, any money available in the income accounts of restricted funds. Such investments may be withdrawn for expenditure at any time when circumstances make it necessary.

Dr. Buck recommended that the Council approve all items in excess of the budget allocation with the understanding that the Association office be instructed in the future to withhold payment of such excesses until approved by a majority of the Finance Committee, and the Council agreed. Upon motion the Council

approved all expenditures made during the fiscal year 1952-53. Dr. Buck then presented the amended budget for 1953-54 and estimates for 1954-55. The Council accepted his proposals after minor changes in phraseology had been made.

Dean Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania read a report to the Council for the Committee on the Teaching of History in the Schools. After long and careful discussion, the Council authorized the President to appoint a committee of seven to co-operate with the American Council of Learned Societies and to consider further exploratory action by the Association in line with the report of the special committee. This committee, which was appointed at the 1952 meeting, was then dismissed with commendation for its excellent work. The Executive Secretary was requested to present a summary of Dean Nichols' report and to explain the Council's action to the business meeting of the Association.

The following committees for 1954, nominated by the Committee on Committees, were approved by the Council:

Committee on Committees.—Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester V. Easum,* University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1956; John D. Hicks, University of California, Berkeley—term expires December, 1955; Edward C. Kirkland,* Bowdoin College—term expires December, 1956; James W. Patton, University of North Carolina—term expires December, 1954.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D.C., chairman; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Felix Gilbert,* Bryn Mawr College; Charles E. Odegaard,* University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University; Ralph E. Turner,* Yale University.

Committee on Historians and the Federal Government.—Wood Gray, George Washington University, chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D.C.; Constance M. Green, Washington, D.C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Richard A. Newhall, Williams College; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio).

Committee on International Relations.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D.C., chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, Washington, D.C.; Martin R. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University (ex officio); Dorothy M. Quynn, Frederick, Md.; Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Va.; Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; J. Harry Bennett, University of Texas; Cornelius W.

* New member this year.

de Kiewiet, University of Rochester; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Lowell Ragatz, Ohio State University, chairman; Francis J. Bowman, University of Southern California; Henry R. Winkler,* Rutgers University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Sinclair W. Armstrong, Brown University; Charles Mullett,* University of Missouri.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—David Potter, Yale University, chairman; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon; Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—John Tate Lanning, Duke University, chairman; John Hope Franklin,* Howard University; Ralph Hidy, New York University; Kenneth M. Stamp,* University of California, Berkeley; Alice Felt Tyler, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Eugene N. Anderson, University of Nebraska; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Fletcher Green, University of North Carolina.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark De Wolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, N.J.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—John B. Brebner, Columbia University, chairman; George W. Brown, University of Toronto; Helen Taft Manning,* Bryn Mawr College.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Taraknath Das, New York City, chairman; T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California.

The Council then approved the continuance in office or the election of the following delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies:* Charles H. Taylor, Harvard University—term expires December, 1956. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University—term expires December, 1955; Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University. *National Historical Publications Commission:* Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University—term expires December, 1956; Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D.C.—term expires December, 1957. *National Records Management Council:* Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires

* New member this year.

December, 1955. *Committee on Renaissance Studies*: Wallace K. Ferguson, New York University. *Social Education*: Boyd C. Shafer, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Robert E. Riegel, Dartmouth College. *Social Science Research Council*: Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University—term expires December, 1954; Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University—term expires December, 1955; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1956.

The Committee on Committees, it was suggested, should be informed that committee membership be normally for three years but that this rule should not be binding, especially for committees where experience plays a great part. The Executive Secretary, in consultation with the chairman of the Committee on Honorary Members, was authorized to fill the vacancy on this committee.

The Council discussed the diminishing size and income of the Carnegie Revolving Fund and the possibilities of future publication through this fund. The Executive Secretary was directed to explore informally the possibility of obtaining additional funds.

Dr. Shafer brought before the Council the financial difficulties encountered in the publication of the annual bibliographical volume, *Writings on American History*, and the recommendation of the Committee on Historians and the Federal Government that the Government Printing Office be asked to use another method of reproduction, such as photoduplication. Failing this, the Association should consider publication by a private firm and obtain funds either by selling the volume or by use of the Matteson Fund, which is now otherwise allotted. At his request Dr. Shafer was given the approval of the Council to explore further the feasibility of these suggestions.

On the recommendation of the Committee on Honorary Members, Professor Georges Lefebvre, honorary professor at the Sorbonne, was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy in the Association's list of honorary members.

A request was made that \$675 be made available to Professor McKay, as the delegate to the International Committee of Historical Sciences, for expenses to the Zurich meeting in 1954. Dr. Buck stated that the approved budget contained an allotment of \$1,000 for such purposes, and the request was therefore automatically granted.

The chairmanship of the Littleton-Griswold Fund Committee having been vacant for two years, the Executive Secretary, on recommendation from various members of the Association, suggested Edward Dumbauld, lawyer and Jefferson scholar, for the position. The Council unanimously agreed that he should be asked to serve.

Dr. Shafer suggested to the Council that the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize include a cash award of \$200, the prize having been awarded without stipend for some years. This suggestion was approved. Dr. Shafer also asked the Council to rule upon eligibility for the John H. Dunning Prize. The Council decided that the recipients of the prize need not be members of the Association.

The Executive Secretary and Managing Editor informed the Council that he has appointed Dr. Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago to the Board of Editors to replace Professor Robert J. Kerner of the University of California, whose term expires in 1953.

The Council approved the reappointment of Dean Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania as the delegate to the Social Science Research Council.

At the Council meeting in 1952 the Executive Secretary was authorized to poll the members of the Association concerning the time of future annual meetings. The light vote to the closing date of December 15, 1953, showed the following results: December, 362; September, 348; no preference, 115. After serious consideration the Council decided to continue the December meetings.

The Executive Secretary brought to the attention of the Council a proposal for the experimental establishment in the Washington office of a register for job applicants and for vacancies. The proposal had been prepared and circulated earlier to the Council, and included a suggestion that an allocation of \$400 be made in the budget, such sum to be repaid from the fees charged the applicants. After prolonged examination the Council approved the general scheme and asked that the President authorize the formation of a committee of three to advise the Executive Secretary.

On a suggestion set before the Council by the Executive Secretary that free life membership be made available to those with fifty years of membership in the Association, the Council agreed to present the matter to the business meetings of 1953 and 1954, since the action involved an amendment to the Constitution.

Dr. Shafer read to the Council a letter received from Dr. Erling Hunt of *Social Education*, requesting approval of the budget of the magazine, which has been increased \$1,650 over last year's budget, and asking that the financial arrangements between the American Historical Association and *Social Education* be simplified. The Executive Secretary was authorized to enter into discussions and negotiations with the editors of *Social Education* in order to conclude a new arrangement.

The Council approved the action of the Executive Secretary in securing Professor Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers University as program chairman, and Professor Bayrd Still of New York University as local arrangements chairman for the 1954 meeting in New York.

The Executive Secretary advised the Council of the long and involved questionnaire which had been received in the Washington office from the Special Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations of the House of Representatives. Since this questionnaire had been completed and returned to the committee, no further action was required at this time.

On a question of forming a committee on freedom of teaching, following the precedent of the American Economic Association, the Council decided to refer this matter to the Executive Committee.

The Council voted to continue membership in the American Council on Education at the present rate of \$50.

The Executive Secretary presented to the Council the question of social security for the employees of the Association. Since provision had been made in the budget to cover the cost, no further Council action was needed. When two thirds of the employees agree, an application to the appropriate agency will be made.

The Executive Secretary outlined for the Council a proposal for preparation of a list of accepted doctoral dissertations in history. Since general lists now published are available, no action was believed necessary.

Following a letter from Dr. Wayne Grover, the National Archivist, recommending that a bust of J. Franklin Jameson be placed in the National Archives Building, the Council asked the Executive Secretary to make inquiries concerning costs, methods of financing, and selection of a sculptor.

The Council elected the following members of the Executive Committee: Dexter Perkins, chairman; Sidney Painter, Robert L. Schuyler, Joseph R. Strayer, Solon J. Buck (ex officio), Boyd C. Shafer (ex officio).

Dr. Shafer read a letter from the Macmillan Company concerning a revision of *A Guide to Historical Literature*, edited by G. M. Dutcher, *et al.* (1931). This publication has been extremely useful to scholars outside the profession as well as to historians and graduate students, and must be either revised or again reprinted. A motion was made, seconded, and approved for the appointment of an ad hoc committee for one year to explore the possibilities of a revision of the *Guide*.

No action was taken on a proposal that the Association endorse a project for historical abstracts on a worldwide scale.

On a question of refunding life membership dues of a member who makes such a request, the consensus of the Council was that such fees could not be legally returned.

The re-election of Dr. Guy Stanton Ford as the delegate to the National Historical Publications Commission was unanimously supported.

Dr. Shafer placed before the Council a suggestion that the American Historical Association express its stand on the Exchange of Student Program. The approved resolution, which was to be forwarded to appropriate government officials, read as follows:

The American Historical Association considers the Exchange of Student Program (Fulbright) extremely valuable both to American scholarship and to international understanding.

Hence, the Association desires to express its profound interest in the continuance of the Program and the maintenance of all procedures necessary to its effectiveness.

The question of the Association's stand on the appointment of a Librarian of Congress then came before the Council. After considerable discussion on

the necessary qualifications of such an appointee, the following resolution to the President of the United States was adopted:

Since the Library of Congress is of vital importance both to the government and to the world of scholarship, the choice of a Librarian of Congress is one of the most important appointments in the power of the President. The Librarian must have the administrative ability necessary to run one of the great libraries of the world. He must also be a man of wide interests and scholarly distinction, since he represents the interests of American scholarship both at home and abroad. The American Historical Association therefore respectfully suggests that a man of recognized stature as an administrator and as a representative of American culture be appointed to this post.

The Council finally voted to express its gratitude to the Program Committee and the Local Arrangements Committee. Professors Bailey and Heaton were selected to draw up such a resolution to be presented to the business meeting.

Under the head of new business Dr. Buck, as former chairman of the Committee to Select an Executive Secretary, requested authority to deposit the papers accumulated by him in that capacity, under seal, in the Association's deposit of records in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress with instructions that such papers not be opened until 1965 without the approval of the Council of the American Historical Association.

There being no further business the Council adjourned.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CONRAD HILTON HOTEL,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 29, 1953, 4:15 P.M.

President Louis Gottschalk called the meeting to order with about two hundred members present. The minutes of the last meeting, printed in the April, 1953, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 780-82), were approved.

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer read his report as Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*. (See pp. 803-809 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, presented a brief summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members attending the meeting. His report was accepted and placed on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1953.)

Mr. Shepard Morgan was unanimously re-elected to the Board of Trustees.

The chairman of the Nominating Committee, Professor Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania, reported the following nominations as a result of the mail ballot:

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1954, Professor Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Lynn

Thorndike of Columbia University; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. Members of the Council, Helen Taft Manning of Bryn Mawr College and C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University. Members of the Nominating Committee, Wesley Frank Craven of Princeton University and Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University.

On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees, and they were declared elected. Professor Cochran read, without recommendation, the suggestion that in order to give the membership a wider choice more than two names should be submitted for each vacancy.

For the information of the Association, Dr. Shafer reported upon the following actions taken by the Council (see minutes of the Council meeting, pp. 809-16 above): the report of the Committee on Committees; the appointment of Professor Louis Gottschalk as the new member of the Board of Editors; the re-election of Professor Roy F. Nichols as delegate to the Social Science Research Council; the re-election of Guy Stanton Ford as delegate to the National Historical Publications Commission; the appointment as program chairman of Professor Richard P. McCormick, and the appointment as local arrangements chairman of Professor Bayrd Still for the 1954 meeting; the decisions concerning the time and place of the 1954 and 1955 meetings; the membership of the Executive Committee; the proposed action concerning new ways of publishing the *Writings on American History*; the selection of Professor Georges Lefebvre to the roll of honorary members; the addition of a cash award of \$200 to the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize; the appointment of an ad hoc committee for one year to explore possibilities of revision of the *Guide to Historical Literature*; the coverage of the Association's employees by Federal Social Security; the establishment of a register, at Association headquarters, of vacancies and applicants; the provision of life membership to members who have belonged to the Association for fifty years.

The resolution passed by the Council concerning the Exchange of Student Program (see p. 815 above) was approved without dissent. The Council's resolution concerning the Librarian of Congress (see p. 816 above) was also unanimously approved. The proposal that life membership be granted to those belonging to the Association for fifty years was likewise approved and will be voted upon again at the 1954 meeting.

The Council's action following the report by Dean Roy F. Nichols for the Committee on the Teaching of History in the Schools (see p. 811 above) was presented to the business meeting.

Professor Donald C. McKay, the representative to the International Committee of Historical Sciences, announced the coming Historical Congress in Rome, September 4-11, 1955. Americans will participate in nine of the thirty-three planned sessions. A list of the topics to be covered appears in the January issue of the *American Historical Review*. Professor McKay requested that

members send to him or to the Executive Secretary of the Association, by April 1, 1954, the titles of the papers they would like to present. In reply to a query from the floor Professor McKay declared that plans have been made for a considerable representation of Americans and of American history at the 1955 meeting. He informed the members that major reports will be printed six months in advance of the meeting.

The following resolution, presented by Professor Herbert Heaton, was unanimously approved:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be tendered to Professor Howard Ehrmann and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the rich and varied fare they have provided; also to Dr. Stanley Pargellis, his colleagues on the Committee on Local Arrangements, and all the voluntary workers for their forethought, patience, and success in making and carrying out the arrangements for this meeting.

Following well-established tradition, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson rose to adjourn the business meeting. As he did so he made the following remarks:

The time apparently has come when it is appropriate for me to exercise a function which the unwritten constitution of the Association has devolved upon me. It is to make a certain motion. The occasion also includes an opportunity to make a few remarks, contrary to all the established rules of parliamentary procedure. I will now make those remarks and will promise to make them very brief.

It has been my good fortune to know all the men whose names were upon the list that Dr. Shafer read, who have served as secretaries of the Association or as editors of the *Review* or, in some cases, in both functions—and I have known some of them rather intimately. I have also had the good fortune to be in a position to observe their operations rather closely during nearly all of the period since I joined the Association in 1896.

A further good fortune of mine has been to be in a position to observe rather closely much of the professional career of our retired Executive Secretary, Guy Stanton Ford. I therefore know the high standard of achievement he has rendered while in academic positions. I want to say that as secretary of the Association and editor of the *Review*, he has not only maintained the high standards of his predecessors but he has even enhanced the reputation which he had acquired in the positions which he previously occupied.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

The Council of the American Historical Association at its Chicago meeting approved the establishment at the Washington headquarters of a register for applicants for positions and for vacancies in the field of history. This is an exploratory attempt to meet a need. It is intended to supplement, not to supplant, customary placement procedures.

In brief, the plan, tentative and subject to future modification, is as follows:

(1) An applicant will register with the American Historical Association by filling out a *vita* form, which will be sent on request, and by paying a \$2.00 fee (for costs only) to cover registration for one year from the date of application. For each additional year the fee will be \$1.00. The register will be open only to members, student or full, of the American Historical Association and primarily to holders of advanced degrees who desire to do teaching or research in colleges, universities, and in government. (2) Institutions and departments have been asked to notify the Association of vacancies, and to indicate in each case what specialty(ies) and age limits are required and what salary ranges offered. (3) On receipt of a notice of vacancy the Association will then send to the institution the pertinent information concerning those applicants whose qualifications meet the requirements. The institution may then obtain further information from the candidate and from those he has listed as references. The Association will not notify potential candidates when their names are sent out for consideration. Furthermore, the Association cannot undertake to recommend specific candidates but only to furnish information in the manner outlined above. No letters of recommendation therefore should be sent to the office of the Association. (4) All information concerning both vacancies and candidates will be kept confidential. Names of registrants will be given only to institutions having positions to be filled.

Members of the Association will help to make this project a success by speaking of it with their colleagues, students, and administrators and by informing this office, through official channels, of any vacancies. Operation will begin on or about March 1, 1954.

Professor Arthur E. Bestor of the department of history, University of Illinois, is chairman of the nominating committee for 1954. He will welcome suggestions from members for the offices of vice-president, two Council members, and three members of the nominating committee.

The annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close this year on May 1. The award has a cash value of \$1,000 and provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Professor John Tate Lanning, Department of History, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

The new honorary member of the Association, Georges Lefebvre, becomes eighty this year. Praised by both Aulard and Mathiez, his many volumes are

noted for balance of judgment while definitely within the republican school of interpretation. His *doctorat ès lettres* came from the Sorbonne and his principal thesis, *Paysans du Nord*, published in 1924, made a major contribution to the social and economic history of the Revolution of 1789. He was professor at the Sorbonne from 1937 to 1943 and has edited the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* since 1932. To many American students of French history he has given friendly advice and help. Among his works, in addition to the two-volume *Paysans du Nord*, are: *Documents sur l'histoire des subsistance dans le district de Bergues pendant la Révolution française* (2 vols., 1913, 1922), *La grande peur de 1789* (1932); *Questions agraires au temps de la Terreur* (1932); *La Révolution française* (with R. Guyot and P. Sagnac, 1930; new edition, by Lefebvre alone, 1951) and *Napoléon* (1935), both in the series "Peuples et civilisations"; *Quatre-vingt-neuf* (1939), translated into English by R. R. Palmer as *The Coming of the French Revolution, 1789* (1947); and *Les Thermidoriens* (1946).

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received some 2,500 Shelby Family Papers, which date from 1738 to 1865, as a gift from Miss Susanna Preston Shelby Grigsby. The earliest papers are business and military records of Evan Shelby, prominent frontier leader who served with General John Forbes in taking Fort Duquesne in 1758 and was active in the Revolutionary War. The major part of the collection, however, centers on his son, Isaac Shelby (1750-1826), Revolutionary War hero and first governor of Kentucky. Consisting, in large part, of correspondence, the papers illustrate his public career from the time he was a youthful deputy sheriff in Frederick County, Maryland, until his death in 1826. Documents relating to the settlement of Isaac Shelby's estate and the papers of his son, Alfred, make up most of the later material.

The personal papers of Cooper R. Curtice, agricultural scientist and parasitologist, have been presented by his family. The work of Dr. Curtice and a few courageous colleagues was directed, as early as 1884, toward the control of yellow fever, malaria, and "Texas Fever," a disease which for a time paralyzed almost the entire southern cattle industry. The papers, which include about 900 pieces of correspondence, diaries, manuscripts of Dr. Curtice's articles, and other biographical material, provide a record of his accomplishment in an important phase of the development of American agriculture. Of similar interest are the approximately 2,500 papers of Frank Lamson-Scribner, agristologist and expert on exhibits, which have been transferred to the Library from the Department of Agriculture. These papers, which consist of correspondence, letter-press volumes, notebooks, and scrapbooks, cover the period from 1888 to 1937. Agricultural problems and experiments in the Philippine Islands are discussed in a series

of letters written in 1901-1904, while Professor Lamson-Scribner was chief of the Insular Bureau of Agriculture there. Later material documents his work, from 1904 to 1922, as special agent for the Department of Agriculture in charge of preparing government exhibits at fairs and expositions in the United States and South America.

A small but valuable group of the papers of Frank Samuel Lahm (1846-1931), American businessman and aeronaut, has been placed in the Library by his son and daughter, Brig. Gen. Frank P. Lahm and Mrs. Katherine L. Parker. The papers include about 150 letters, many of them by or relating to Wilbur and Orville Wright; logs and barograph records of Mr. Lahm's balloon ascensions; three albums of clippings, including articles he wrote from abroad for local Ohio newspapers; and six typescript chapters of his unfinished book on the history of aeronautics. While far from representative of Mr. Lahm's long and varied career, the papers received are an important addition to the Library's aeronautical manuscripts collections, and especially to its materials dealing with the career of Wilbur and Orville Wright.

A collection of personal papers and materials assembled by Thomas Čapek, noted American-Czech scholar and author, has been presented to the Library by Mrs. Čapek. The material reflects his life-long interest in the immigration of Czechs to the United States and in the various phases of their life in the new country. In addition to his extensive correspondence with Czech immigrants, there is a variety of material which Čapek collected over many years. Included in the latter are genealogical papers pertaining to Augustin Herrman of Bohemia Manor (Maryland), who came to America in the second quarter of the seventeenth century; and numerous sets of Czech newspapers and journals, among them early issues published in the United States (e.g., *Lucernia* and *New Yorské Listy*) and in Europe.

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, who has taken an active and important part in inter-American affairs since the beginning of this century, has given a large group of his personal papers to the Library. Dr. Inman founded the Peoples Institute in Piedras, Mexico, in 1907 and worked there until 1915. He later was director of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, and attended a number of Pan American conferences, serving as cultural adviser to the U.S. delegation at the conference at Buenos Aires in 1936. The papers, consisting of seventy-seven volumes and boxes of correspondence, unpublished manuscripts, and scrapbooks, relate to these phases of Dr. Inman's career, as well as to his work, as writer and lecturer, in extending the concept of Pan Americanism.

The University of Pennsylvania Library has recently acquired the official papers of Samuel Jackson Randall (1829-1890), Democratic representative to Congress from Philadelphia from 1862 until his death. The collection covers the years 1844-1890 and deals primarily with Randall's activities as a professional politician.

The new James Ford Bell Room in the library of the University of Minnesota was dedicated and opened to the public on October 30, 1953. The room, a replica of an Elizabethan library, houses a collection of rare books pertaining to the age of discovery and especially strong in the exploration of eastern Canada and the Great Lakes region. It is open to scholars doing research in this field. Prospective readers should address correspondence to John Parker, Curator of the James Ford Bell Collection.

The papers of Hamilton Holt, editor, educator, and world peace advocate, who died in 1951, have been presented to Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida. The collection includes five boxes of correspondence as well as newspaper clippings, pamphlets, and bound volumes relating to peace and international organizations.

The National Archives has issued a revised and enlarged *List of National Archives Microfilm Publications* (98 pp.). The arrangement of entries is for the most part by government organization. Since 1940 the National Archives has been microfilming selected groups of federal records that have value for research. Prints of these microfilm publications are sold at moderate cost to libraries, research centers, and scholars. Prices of the individual items are quoted in the *List*.

Almost complete files of some of Canada's early newspapers are now being made available on microfilm by the Canadian Library Association. The committee in charge of the project has issued a questionnaire designed to aid in future policy. Libraries and other interested institutions should communicate, as soon as possible, with Dr. J. J. Talman, Chief Librarian, Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont., Canada.

Under the joint sponsorship of the American Philosophical Society and Yale University a project has been launched to gather, edit, and publish all the known papers of Benjamin Franklin. The editorial work will be centered at Yale and will be under the direction of Leonard W. Labaree, Farnam professor of history. The project was made possible by a grant from *Life* magazine on behalf of Time, Inc., and is expected to take fifteen years. The Yale University Press will publish the edition, which will run to twenty-five or thirty volumes.

The University of Pennsylvania has received a grant in aid from the Rockefeller Foundation for the reproduction on microfilm of the unpublished manuscripts of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) preserved in Hanover, Germany. The film will be available to scholars in the library of the university.

Volume I, no. 1 of the *Journal of World History* has recently appeared under the date of July, 1953. A quarterly edited by Professor Lucien Febvre under

the auspices of the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind (UNESCO), the new journal is an outgrowth of the proposed "History of Mankind." It will contain articles of international interest, published in English, French, or Spanish, as well as reports on the state of historical research in all parts of the world. Articles from the first number are noted in the appropriate lists in this issue of the *Review*. Stechert-Hafner, 31 East 10th Street, New York 3, N.Y., is the United States distributor of the *Journal*. The price of subscription to Volume I (4 issues) is \$6.00.

In the London *Times Literary Supplement* from July to October, 1953, various prominent English historians conducted a vigorous discussion of possible bias in *Die Grosse Politik*. The discussion arose out of a review of a volume of later documents (*Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*. Series D [1937-1945]. Vol. V.) and out of study of the original documents taken to England after World War II. Historians of the diplomacy preceding both World Wars I and II will be interested.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual meeting at the University of California, Davis, December 28-30, 1953. There were sixteen sessions representing almost as many fields of history. Osgood Hardy of Occidental College was elected president for 1954, John D. Hicks of the University of California, Berkeley, vice-president, and John A. Schutz of Whittier College was re-elected secretary-treasurer. A full report of the meeting will appear in the 1953 *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association.

The Southern Historical Association held its nineteenth annual meeting November 12-14, 1953, at Jacksonville, Florida. There were about a dozen sessions, almost equally divided between Southern and other historical subjects. At the annual dinner on November 13, Kathryn Abbey Hanna delivered her presidential address, "The Roles of the South in the French Intervention in Mexico." Officers elected for 1954 are Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, president; Bell I. Wiley, Emory University, vice-president; and Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, secretary-treasurer. The 1954 meeting will be held in the fall at Columbia, South Carolina.

At the meeting of the Conference on British Studies held at New York University on November 14, 1953, Sir E. Llewellyn Woodward of Oxford University and the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, read a paper entitled, "Some Effects of World War I on English Society." Professors Helen Cam of Harvard University and Herman Ausubel of Columbia University commented on the paper. At the elections which followed Professor Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia University was elected president and Professors Helen Cam of Harvard

University and Holden Furber of the University of Pennsylvania were elected members of the executive committee.

A conference on Tudor and Stuart history was held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., on November 14, 1953. The subject of the morning session was "Collection of Source Materials for Historical Research in the Tudor and Stuart Periods," of the afternoon session "Institutional and Other Cooperation in the Advancement of Historical Research." Papers were read at the morning session by Louis B. Wright of the Folger Library and Conyers Read of the University of Pennsylvania, and at the afternoon session by F. C. Francis of the British Museum and George W. Stone of George Washington University.

The Ohio Valley Historic Indian Conference, a group of historians, archaeologists, linguists, anthropologists, and ethnologists, held its first annual meeting at the Ohio State Museum, Columbus, November 19-21, 1953. Its purpose was to secure the co-operation of the various disciplines of scholarship interested in the study of the historic Indian of the Ohio Valley region.

The School of Inter-American Affairs of the University of New Mexico sponsored a public panel on December 3, 1953, to commemorate the centennial of the birth of José Martí (1853-95), Cuban patriot and man of letters. Among the speakers was Dorothy Woodward, professor of history at the University of New Mexico.

T. Robert S. Broughton, professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr College and a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review*, received the 1953 Award of Merit of the American Philological Association for his work *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (1951, 1952). He was also elected president of the American Philological Association for 1954.

The 1952-1953 Modern Language Association-Oxford University Press Award has been given to Arthur M. Wilson of Dartmouth College for a manuscript entitled "Diderot: The Testing Years, 1713-1759."

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Lewis Hanke of the University of Texas has succeeded Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College as editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

A. Hunter Dupree has resigned from Texas Technological College to accept a position as project director of a study of the history of activities of the federal

government in science, a project sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston under a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Lewis J. Edinger, formerly of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has accepted appointment as assistant professor in the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.

At the University of Delaware Clifton K. Yearley, Jr., has joined the faculty as an instructor for the spring semester to replace H. Clay Reed, who is on sabbatical leave. Beginning in September, 1954, David B. Tyler will be on leave from Wagner College for two years to serve as visiting professor of maritime history in the University of Delaware and to carry on research on the maritime history of the Delaware River basin.

Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, announces the retirement of Charles A. Keith and J. T. Dorris, July 1, 1953. Kerney M. Adams has succeeded Dr. Keith as chairman of the social science division; Edward N. Peterson and Glenn A. McLain have been appointed assistant professors.

Charles H. Glatfelter has been appointed assistant professor of history in Gettysburg College, effective September, 1954.

William L. Langer, Coolidge Professor of History in Harvard University, has been named chairman of the Committee on International and Regional Studies and director of the Russian Research Center, effective July 1, 1954. B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch of the French University of New York is giving two courses in the department of government of Harvard University during the spring semester.

Wallace T. MacCaffrey, formerly of the University of California at Los Angeles, has gone to Haverford College as associate professor of history and holder of the Walter D. and Edith M. L. Scull Chair of English Constitutional History.

In Louisiana State University Edwin A. Davis has been appointed chairman of the department of history and T. Harry Williams has been named Boyd Professor of History. John Duffy and George B. Tindall have been appointed assistant professors of history.

In the department of humanities at Michigan State College Charles Hirschfeld and Edward Blackman have been promoted to associate professorships. Heenan, John Hirschfield, Finley Hooper, Ralph Morrow, Karl Thompson, Newly appointed instructors are William Boyd, Alexander Butler, David and Edwin Wintermute.

Herbert Heaton has succeeded A. C. Krey as chairman of the department of history in the University of Minnesota. Benjamin N. Nelson, associate professor in the department of general studies at the University of Minnesota, has been appointed chairman of the European heritage sequence in the humanities program. He will continue to be affiliated with the social science program in general studies.

Ralph Paul Bieber of Washington University, St. Louis, will teach at the summer session of the University of New Mexico.

Joseph O. Baylen has been promoted to associate professor of European history in New Mexico Highlands University.

Harold J. Grimm, professor of history in the Ohio State University, has received a Fulbright grant for Germany. He will lecture at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau during the summer session, 1954.

Roy M. Robbins, formerly of Butler University, is now professor of history and director of the graduate division of the University of Omaha.

Hassan Ibrahim Hassan of the University of Cairo is teaching this year in the department of Oriental studies in the University of Pennsylvania as the Mediaeval Academy of America Visiting Professor of Islamic Studies, a professorship made possible for the current year by a gift to the Academy.

In the department of history at the Pennsylvania State University (formerly the Pennsylvania State College) Neil A. McNall and Ira V. Brown have been promoted to associate professorships of history. Malcom Freiburg, formerly of Brown University, has been appointed instructor.

The department of history, economics, and government of Purdue University has been reorganized as the department of history, government, and philosophy. Marbury B. Ogle, Jr., professor of political science, is the chairman.

At Rutgers University Gustav Alef, William J. Chute, and F. Gunther Eyck were appointed as lecturers in history for the current academic year.

J. R. Pole, formerly of Princeton University, has gone to University College, London, as an assistant lecturer in American history.

David L. Smiley has been promoted to assistant professor in the social sciences department of Wake Forest College, North Carolina.

Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University has been awarded a Fulbright lectureship to the American Institute of the University of Munich for the second semester of the current academic year.

Colton Storm, assistant director of the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, has been elected director of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland. He will assume his new duties on June 1.

Edward S. Corwin, McCormick professor emeritus of jurisprudence at Princeton University, and Carl B. Swisher, professor of political science at the Johns Hopkins University, are currently at Whittier College, California, teaching a course on contemporary American constitutionalism.

RECENT DEATHS

D. J. Medley, professor of history in the University of Glasgow for over thirty years, died October 14, 1953, at the age of ninety-two. Professor Medley was graduated from Keble College, Oxford, and served as lecturer and tutor there from 1884 until 1899, when he was chosen for the new chair in history at Glasgow. He retired in 1931 with the title of emeritus. Among his publications were *Students' Manual of English Constitutional History*, *Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, and contributions to *Constitutional Essays*, the "Church Universal" series, and *Social England*. He was co-editor, with Stanley Pargellis, of the *Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century, 1714-1789*, published in 1951 under the sponsorship of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.

As this issue goes to press, word has come of the death of Friedrich Meinecke in Berlin on February 6. Professor Meinecke was an honorary member of the American Historical Association. A more adequate notice will appear in the July issue.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Karl W. Deutsch in his review of Daniel J. Boorstin's *The Genius of American Politics* (*AHR*, January, 1954, pp. 383-84) said: "Professor Boorstin argues clearly in the tradition of Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville, John C. Calhoun, and Frederick Jackson Turner." There is another name that should be added to this list. The following passage from Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution* (London, 1867), pp. 271-72, indicates an awareness on the part of that writer of the "givenness" of Americans:

The English constitution, in a word, is framed on the principal of choosing a single sovereign authority, and making it good: the American, upon the principle of having many sovereign authorities, and hoping that their multitude may atone for their inferiority. The Americans now extol their institutions, and so defraud themselves of their due praise. But if they had not a genius for politics; if they had not a

moderation in action singularly curious where superficial speech is so violent; if they had not a regard for law, such as no great people have yet evinced, and infinitely surpassing ours,—the multiplicity of authorities in the American Constitution would long ago have brought it to a bad end. Sensible shareholders, I have heard a shrewd attorney say, can work *any* deed of settlement; and so the men of Massachusetts could, I believe, work *any* constitution. But political philosophy must analyze political history; it must distinguish what is due to the excellence of the people, and what to the excellence of the laws; it must carefully calculate the exact effect of each part of the constitution, though thus it may destroy many an idol of the multitude, and detect the secret of utility where few imagined it to lie.

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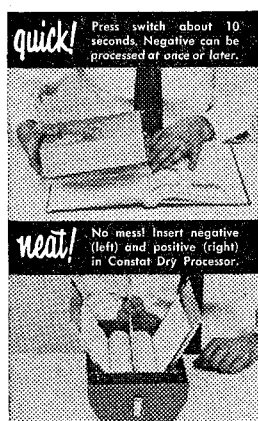
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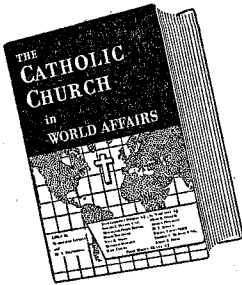
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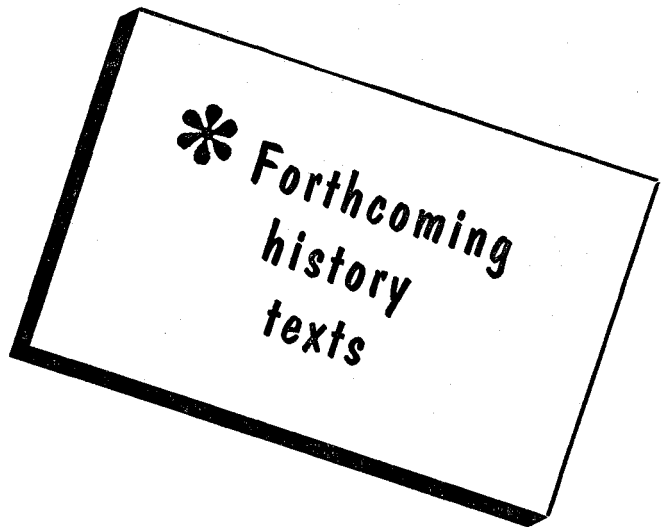
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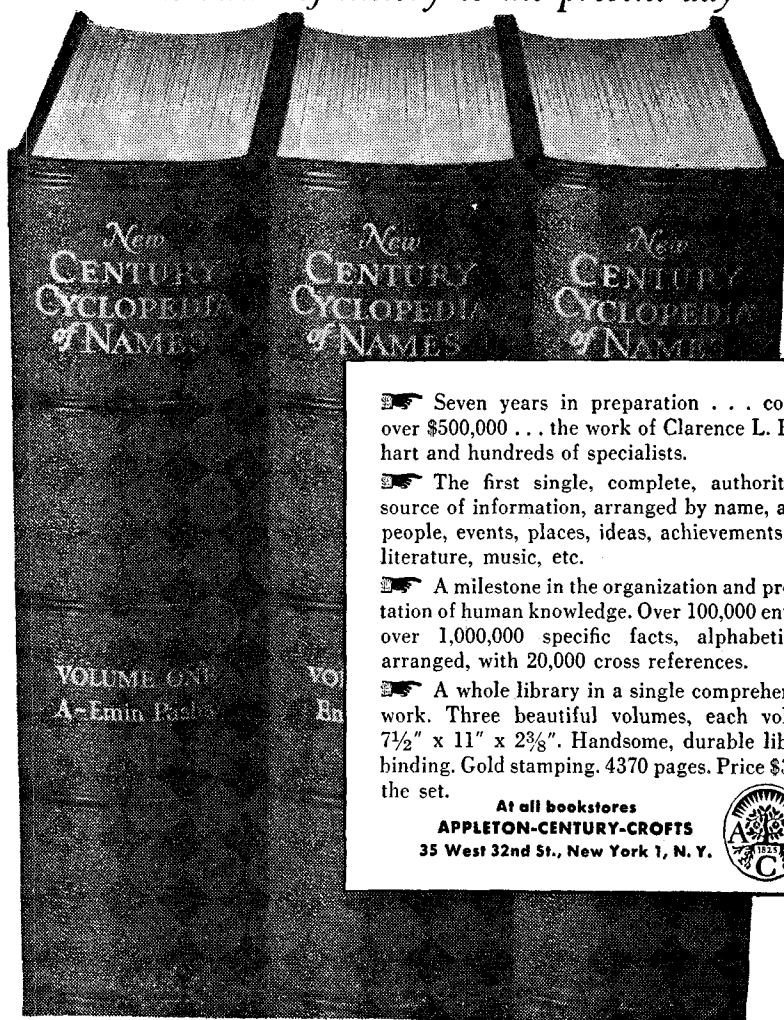
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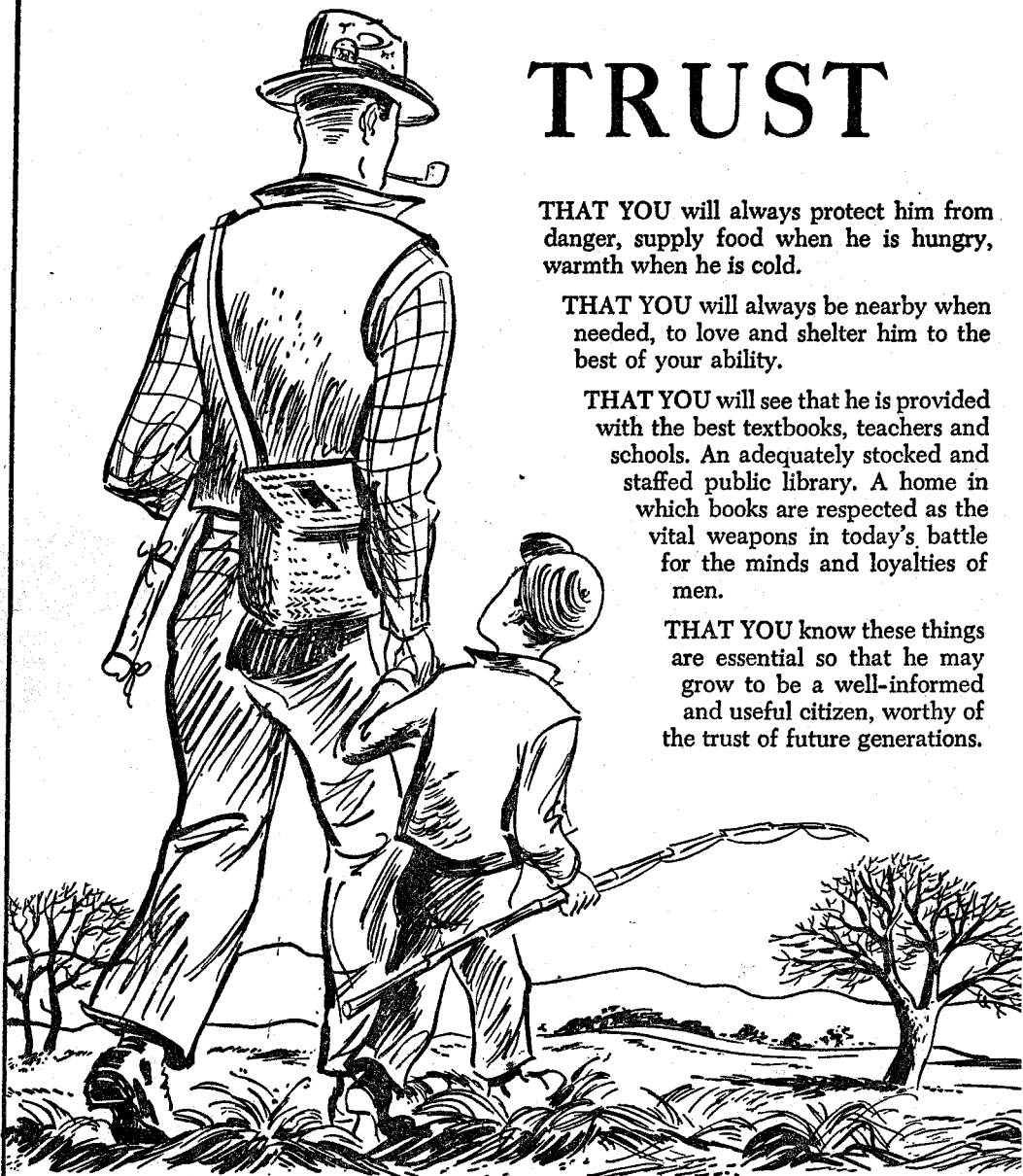
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